

Fleming, Walter L.

The Reconstruction of the Seceded States,
1865-76

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THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SECEDED STATES, 1865-76

by Walter L. Fleming M.A. Ph.D. Professor of History in West Virginia
University and Late Lecturer in History, Columbia University

General references at the beginning of each chapter over the subjects treated in a general way. Under each topic of importance more specific references are given. In each list the references are arranged in two groups, *A* and *B*. Those in group *A* are suitable for university extension purposes, are all in print and are easily secured at moderate prices. Those in group *B* are more difficult of access or are of less value than those in group *A*. The second group contains also valuable references to public documents. Each state has from 10 to 50 libraries containing the sets of public documents referred to. Since much of the material bearing on reconstruction is difficult of access, being out of print or in scarce periodicals and public documents, the references are made full in order to include practically all the material on the subject, some of which every library will possess. The out-of-print books referred to in group *B* may be secured at moderate prices at old bookshops or by advertising in some book trade journal, such as the *Publishers' Weekly*. This can be done without charge through any bookseller. Besides the periodicals referred to *Poole's Index* may be consulted for additional references. The final bibliography with prices is fairly complete. In the appendix will be found original material selected to illustrate the most important phases of the period.

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Chapter I

THE AFTERMATH OF WAR

References*A*

- Clayton. White and Black under the Old Régime, ch. 7.
 Fleming. Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, pt 3.
 Garner. Reconstruction in Mississippi, ch. 4.
 LeConte. Autobiography, ch. 7-9.
 Lee. True History of the Civil War, ch. 14, 15.
 Smedes. Southern Planter, ch. 18-21.

B

- Andrews. The South Since the War.
 Carr. Missouri, ch. 16, 17.
 Hague. A Blockaded Family.
 Hart. Source-Book of American History, no. 127.
 Kennaway. On Sherman's Track.
 Lee. Recollections and Letters of General Lee, ch. 8, 9.
 Montgomery. Reminiscences of a Mississippian.
 Our Women in War.
 Reid. After the War.
 Report of Gen. U. S. Grant (in Sen. Ex. Doc. 10, 2, 39th Cong., 1st Sess.).
 Report of Gen. Carl Schurz (in Sen. Ex. Doc. no. 2, 39th Cong., 1st Sess.).
 Report of B. C. Truman (in Sen. Ex. Doc. no. 43, 39th Cong., 1st Sess.).
 Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction. See index to "Testimony."
 Shaler. Kentucky, ch. 19, 20.
 Taylor. Destruction and Reconstruction, p. 236-38.
 Trowbridge. The South.

Loss of life and health in the war

A Livermore. Numbers and Losses.

Confederate Military History, v. 10 (statistical tables).

B Davis. Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, 2:607.

- 1 Number enrolled, killed and wounded. Health injured.

- 2 Character of men killed or injured, or later disfranchised for part taken in war.
- 3 Character of those uninjured by war, who did not actively participate. These to be basis of reconstruction.
- 4 Effect on social and political conditions.

Destruction of property

A Fleming. Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, ch. 5, § 2.

Garner. Reconstruction in Mississippi, p. 122-46.

Hollis. Early Period of Reconstruction in South Carolina, p. 10-13, 18-27.

LeConte. Autobiography, ch. 7, 8.

B Andrews. South Since the War, ch. 1, 4.

Wise. Life of Henry A. Wise, ch. 21.

- 1 Real estate of no value. Most personal property destroyed.
- 2 Cotton and other crops burned or confiscated.
- 3 Emancipation of slaves. Loss of capital, \$2,000,000,000.
- 4 Collapse of banks. All banking and other property had disappeared.
- 5 No coin money. All had disappeared during war. Confederate and state currency worthless. People lost sense of values.
- 6 Trade or exchange could not take place for want of United States money. Everything at a standstill during 1865.
- 7 Bridges had been destroyed. Roads almost impassable.
- 8 Public property, courthouses, poorhouses, asylums, and other public buildings, destroyed or confiscated.
- 9 No steamers or other craft on rivers. Only one railroad in working order. Tracks torn up and rolling stock worn out or destroyed. Railroad companies bankrupt.
- 10 Losses by northern creditors.

Destitution and want among white and black

- A* Avary. *Virginia Girl in the Civil War*, ch. 26, 27.
 Fleming. *Alabama*, ch. 5, § 5.
 Garner. *Mississippi*, ch. 4.
 Hollis. *Early Period of Reconstruction in South Carolina*, ch. 7.
 LeConte. *Autobiography*, ch. 7, 8.
 Pryor. *Reminiscences of Peace and War*, p. 372-402.
B Reports of the Freedmen's Bureau. *See* index to U. S. public documents.

- 1 Suffering in white counties as early as 1861.
- 2 Supplies sufficient in black belt till 1865.
- 3 Good food crops during war; bad crops in 1865 and 1866.
- 4 Relief by states 1861-65, principally to white counties.
- 5 Refugees: whites and negroes, 1862-65.
- 6 Loss of life in war fell more heavily on white counties, where people were also poor.
- 7 Conditions in summer of 1865: whites of white counties destitute; whites of black belt had some supplies; suffering great among blacks congregated in towns but not among those on plantations.
- 8 Relief work in 1865-66, by private benevolence, by state and county authorities, and by Freedmen's Bureau.

The negro testing his freedom

- A* Fleming. *Alabama*, ch. 5, § 4.
 Garner. *Mississippi*, p. 35-37.
 Smedes. *Southern Planter*, ch. 19, 20.
 Washington. *Up From Slavery*, p. 23, 24, 135.
B Andrews. *South Since the War*, ch. 3.
 Rhodes. *History of the United States*, 5:556.

- 1 Thousands follow the invading armies, though most of them remain faithful. Much suffering among those who follow the Federal armies. Many of them enlist in the army.

- 2 Somewhat later the race generally begins to prove its freedom.
- 3 Does not feel free without changing home, quitting work, changing name and perhaps getting a new wife and joining another church.
- 4 Churchgoing, camp meetings, and baptizings were the order of the day during summer and fall of 1865.
- 5 Precarious living: work one or two days a week, live on berries, green corn, vegetables etc. taken from fields.
- 6 Crowding in towns. Unsanitary conditions. Many live out of doors. Much suffering and many deaths.
- 7 Estimated that in 1865-66 the blacks lost as many by death as the southern whites lost in war.
- 8 Industry paralyzed in black belt.

Troubles in the churches

- A* Fleming. Alabama, ch. 7.
 Garner. Mississippi, p. 35-37.
 Gulf States Historical Magazine, Sep. 1902, article by Fleming.
 Perry. History of the American Episcopal Church, p. 328.
 Rhodes. History of the United States, 5:179.
 Wilmer. Recent Past, p. 146.
- B* American Church History Series. *See* index to each volume.
 Carroll. Religious Forces. *See* each denomination.
 Census of 1890. Statistics of Churches.
 Davis. Rise and Fall, v. 2, ch. 57.
 KuKlux Report. *See* index to "Testimony."
 McPherson. Rebellion, p. 461-548.
 Methodist Quarterly, 26:418.
 Nicolay & Hay. Abraham Lincoln. *See* index under "Churches."
 ———Complete Works of Lincoln. *See* index under "Churches."
 Richardson. Lights and Shadows of Itinerant Life, p. 183.
 Whitaker. The Church in Alabama, p. 177.

- 1 Division of churches before war into northern and southern branches.
- 2 During war where Union troops were in control southern churches were given to northern branches.
- 3 Federal army and the churches.
- 4 "Loyal" services required in southern churches; prayer for the President of the United States, minister must take "ironclad" oath, etc.
- 5 Policy of northern churches in 1865 announced: "to disintegrate and absorb" southern churches.
- 6 Reorganization of southern churches.
- 7 Northern aid societies, missionaries and teachers.
- 8 Negroes separated from southern churches. Organized into churches of blacks, or in connection with northern churches.
- 9 Disputes about church property specially in border states.
- 10 Effect of church troubles on popular feeling.

Confiscation frauds

- A* Fleming. Alabama, ch. 6.
 Garner. Mississippi, p. 127-29.
 Ku Klux Report, p. 440-47.
 LeConte. Autobiography, ch. 9.
 Rhodes. History of the United States, 5:85-107, 274, 411.
 McCulloch. Men and Measures of Half a Century, p. 234.
 MacDonald. Select Statutes, no. 11, 24.
 McPherson. Rebellion, p. 195-233.
 Our Women in War.

- 1 Confiscation acts of Congress.
- 2 Property subject to confiscation: Confederate; state or private property used in aid of Confederacy; property of those who aided Confederacy, unless pardoned.

- 3 Trade regulations during war aim to confiscate southern produce.
- 4 Treasury agents sent south in 1864-65 to collect confiscated property.
- 5 Bad character of most of the treasury agents.
- 6 What was regarded as Confederate property.
- 7 Confiscation by army and Freedmen's Bureau.
- 8 Movables, specially cotton, generally confiscated; real estate soon restored by pardon by the President.
- 9 Back taxes and debts due Confederacy collected by United States authorities.
- 10 Many pretended treasury agents confiscated quantities of cotton. "Cotton spies."
- 11 Private property in cotton not recognized. Sentiment against cotton.
- 12 United States government received only a small portion of property seized.
- 13 Frauds by natives and agents. Cases brought to trial.
- 14 Effect of confiscation frauds in irritating people.
- 15 United States has restored nearly all the proceeds of confiscated property. Present status of southern claims.

Cotton tax

A Fleming. Alabama, ch. 6.

Garner. Mississippi, p. 131-33.

B Saunders. Early Settlers of Alabama.

- 1 Tax: $\frac{1}{2}$ cent a pound in 1862, 2 cents in 1863, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents in 1865, 3 cents in 1866, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in 1867: abolished in 1868.
- 2 Considered an unfair tax. Arguments for and against.
- 3 Amount collected in Southern States.
- 4 Supreme Court divided on question of this tax.
- 5 Cotton tax certificates still preserved.

- 6 Recent resolutions have been introduced in Congress looking toward refunding the amount of this tax.

Military occupation

- A* Clay. *A Belle of the Fifties*, ch. 22.
 Clayton. *White and Black under the Old Régime*, p. 144-49.
 Fleming. *Military Government*, (*see* *American Historical Magazine*, April and July 1903)
 Garner. *Mississippi*, p. 29-38.
 Hollis. *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, p. 45, 46.
 Pryor. *Reminiscences of Peace and War*, ch. 25.
B Davis. *Rise and Fall*, v. 2, ch. 56, 57.
 Ku Klux Report, p. 446-47.
 Reports of the Secretary of War, 1865, 1866.
 Wilson. *Federal Aid in Domestic Disturbances*, ch. 5.
- 1 No civil government in South after surrender of Confederate armies.
 - 2 Armies of occupation remain but a short time. Most of the troops soon mustered out.
 - 3 Condition during early period of occupation.
 - 4 Garrisons scattered about over South. Numbers and characters of troops. Foraging for subsistence.
 - 5 Best troops soon discharged leaving inferior soldiers for garrison duty.
 - 6 No government from April to September 1865, except in vicinity of military posts.
 - 7 Policies of post-commanders vary greatly.
 - 8 Problems of military government.
 - 9 Relations between soldiers and people, white and black.

Temper of popular feeling

- A* Clayton. *White and Black*, ch 1.
 DeLeon. *John Holden, Unionist*.
 Fleming. *Alabama*, ch. 7.
 Garner. *Mississippi*, p. 61-63.

- Hart. *Contemporaries*, v. 4, nos. 141, 149.
 — Source-Book of American History, nos. 127, 129.
 Hollis. *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, ch. 1.
 LeConte. *Autobiography*, ch. 9.
 Lee. *Recollections and Letters of Lee*, ch. 8, 9, 12.
 McPherson. *History of Reconstruction*, p. 67, 81-101.
 Rhodes. *History of the United States*, 5:151-560.
B Andrews. *The South Since the War*.
 Avary. *Virginia Girl in the Civil War*, ch. 27.
 Clay. *A Belle of the Fifties*, ch. 21, 22.
 Dixon. *The Clansman*.
Our Women in War.
 Pryor. *Reminiscences of Peace and War*, ch. 25, 26.
 Reid. *After the War*.
 Reports of Grant, Schurz and Truman, referred to above.
 Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction. *See* specially the testimony of Gen. Robert E. Lee and Gen. Wager Swayne.
 Smedes. *Southern Planter*, ch. 19, 20.
 Taylor. *Destruction and Reconstruction*, p. 236-38.
 Tourgee. *Fool's Errand*.
 Trowbridge. *The South*.

I In the South:

Soldiers, politicians, "loyal" men, "bomb-proofs"; women and ministers; slaveholders and nonslaveholders; cross currents of opinion and feeling.

Feeling of relief from responsibility by abolition of slavery.

Hopeless feeling of many at first. Reaction in August and September.

Causes of growing irritation: negro soldiers, disorderly white soldiers; social ostracism of northerners; women forced to walk under flags over sidewalks, or to take test oaths; frequent oath-taking;

jeering at women at work; tactless teachers and missionaries from the North; negrophiles; church question; Confederate uniform, buttons, colors and songs forbidden.

2 In the North:

Difficult to ascertain popular feeling toward South. People flushed with success think war ended all controversy.

Some bitter, some indifferent, many forgiving and many distrustful of the South.

Probably a general desire to punish the South for the war. This desire grows weaker for a time.

Politicians more radical and more bitter than the people.

Negro suffrage demanded by a few.

Correspondents in South excite northern sentiment against southern people.

Topics for papers

- 1 Conditions in South after the war: social, political, economic and religious.
- 2 Operation of confiscation laws.
- 3 Report of General Grant on conditions in South.
- 4 Behavior of the newly freed blacks.
- 5 Incidents of destitution.
- 6 Problems before the southern churches.
- 7 Cotton tax.
- 8 Testimony of General Lee in report of the joint committee on reconstruction; also testimony of Gen. Wager Swayne.

[On these topics *see also* the material in the appendix]

Chapter 2

PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION

References

A

Burgess. Reconstruction and the Constitution, pref. and ch. 1.

Cambridge Modern History, 7:622-24.

DeWitt. Impeachment and Trial of Johnson, § 1.

Dunning. Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction, p. 13, 63, 101.

Garner. Mississippi, ch. 2, 3, 4.

Herbert. Article in Atlantic Monthly, Feb. 1901.

Wilson. Article in Atlantic Monthly, Jan. 1901.

— History of the American People, v. 5, ch. 1.

B

Pollard. Lost Cause, ch. 44.

Richardson. Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 10:562.

Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction. See majority report and views of minority.

United States Constitution, on "confiscation," "treason," "rights of states," etc.

Status of seceded states

- 1 What was a "state" of the Union?
- 2 What rights did a state possess?
- 3 Was a state indestructible?
- 4 Did the war have any effect on the rights of Southern States?
- 5 Status of the state during the war.
- 6 What was a "republican form of government"?
- 7 By whom were questions to be decided, the President, Congress, or Supreme Court?
- 8 Reviving belief in state's rights in North.
- 9 Southerners hope for a technical constitutional settlement.

Status of former citizens in South

- 1 Conquered foreigners or conquered rebels?
- 2 What rights had they by international law or by United States Constitution?
- 3 What rights had southern "Unionists"?
- 4 Constitution and laws on "treason," "attainder," "confiscation," "trial in open court."
- 5 Treason against state and against United States.
- 6 Who or what had seceded and carried on war, the people or the states, officials or citizens?
- 7 State citizenship and United States citizenship.
- 8 Who were the people of a state?
- 9 Whom and how to punish?
- 10 Effect of pardon or amnesty by President. Did pardon restore both civil and political rights?

Slavery and the negro problem

- 1 Difference between practical conditions and theoretic situation.
- 2 All recognize slavery as dead, but how to express that fact in public law?
- 3 Legal effect of Emancipation Proclamation and acts of Congress relating to slavery.
- 4 Slavery in Union slave states.
- 5 Status of negro. Was he citizen or ward? Did he have all civil rights? If a citizen, should he have political rights? What was his place in society?
- 6 Northern distrust of former masters; theory that southern whites and blacks were natural enemies.
- 7 Were the states or the central government to fix the position of the negro and define his rights?
- 8 How to prevent a possible reestablishment of slavery.
- 9 How to legislate in favor of the negro and not invade the rights of states.

Interpretation of the Constitution

- 1 Were former theories and decisions binding?
- 2 Effect of war on Constitution and constitutional theories.
- 3 Nature of the Union: confederation, federal government, nation.
- 4 Were the same rules of constitutional interpretation to hold after as before the war?
- 5 Was "the union as it was" to be restored, or was it to be fundamentally changed?

Topics for papers

- 1 What do you understand were the problems to be solved in reconstruction?
- 2 Read the United States Constitution on "treason," "attainder," "corruption of blood," "trial in open court," "rights of states," "forfeiture."

Chapter 3

POLITICAL PARTIES, 1864-66

References*A*

- Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 20, 98-104.
 Cambridge. Modern History, 7:624.
 Johnston. History of American Politics.
 Rhodes. History of the United States, v. 5, ch. 30.

B

- Cooper. American Politics, bk 2, p. 44-46.
 McPherson. Rebellion, p. 403-17, and appendix.
 — Reconstruction.

"Union" party: Republicans and War Democrats

- 1 Moderate and radical Republicans.
- 2 War Democrats returning to Democratic party.
- 3 Not agreed on policy of reconstruction.

- 4 Not united on negro question.
- 5 Opposed to presidential government.
- 6 Political creeds of Lincoln and Johnson.
- 7 Leaders: Stevens, Sumner, Chase.

Democratic party

- 1 Course of opposition during war.
- 2 Now somewhat discredited; "copperhead" element.
- 3 Want immediate "restoration," not "reconstruction."
- 4 Will evidently support President.
- 5 War Democrats returning in 1865-66.
- 6 Leaders: Blair, Reverdy Johnson, Seymour.

Topics for papers

- 1 Political career of Salmon P. Chase.
- 2 Andrew Johnson, 1860-65.
- 3 National party platforms of 1864.
- 4 Copperhead Democrats.

Chapter 4

PLANS AND THEORIES OF RECONSTRUCTION

References

A

- Burgess. Reconstruction, ch. 1-7.
 Cambridge. Modern History, 7:625.
 Chadsey. President Johnson and Congress.
 DeWitt. Impeachment and Trial of Johnson.
 Dunning. Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction, p. 99-113.
 Fleming. Alabama, ch. 8, § 1.
 Hart. Contemporaries, v. 4, nos. 114-46, 148, 149.
 ——— Salmon P. Chase, ch. 13, 14.
 Herbert. Solid South, ch. 1.

B

American Law, 1:238.

Congressional Globe, 1861-67. See index under "Reconstruction," "Sumner," "Stevens," "Sherman," "Reverdy Johnson," "Davis," "Wade" etc.

Curtis. Constitutional History, v. 2, ch. 11.

McCarthy. Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction.

Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction.

Scott. Reconstruction during the War.

Taylor. Destruction and Reconstruction.

Democratic theory: congressional theory of 1861

A Chadsey. Johnson and Congress, index.

Dunning. Essays, p. 104.

B Congressional Globe, July 22 and 25, 1861.

- 1 Crittenden and Johnson resolutions, 1861: war waged to maintain Constitution and rights of states unimpaired. When these objects accomplished war should cease.
- 2 States indestructible; states rights survive.
- 3 Submit to United States government and thus restore Union.

Southern theory: Sherman-Johnston convention

A Dunning. Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction, p. 101-3.

Hart. Salmon P. Chase.

Rhodes. History of United States, 5:52, 132, 133, 161-78.

Sherman. Memoirs, 2:349-67.

B McPherson. Reconstruction, p. 121, 504, 505.

Pollard. Lost Cause, p. 715.

Stephens. Comprehensive History of the United States, p. 831-35.

- 1 Insurrection by individuals not by states.
- 2 Individuals not states must suffer.
- 3 State officials must take oath of allegiance to United States.

- 4 Legislatures to be convoked to arrange for representation in Congress.
- 5 Reestablish federal courts in Southern States.
- 6 Then the "Union as it was" would be restored.
- 7 On this theory, the Sherman-Johnston convention. Southern state governors call state Legislatures. This movement checked by President.

Presidential plans and theories

- A* Burgess. Reconstruction, ch. 2, 3.
 Chadsey. President Johnson and Congress. *See* index under "Johnson," "Lincoln."
 DeWitt. Impeachment and Trial of Johnson, p. 6-II.
 Dunning. Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction, p. 103-5.
 Hart. Contemporaries, v. 4, no. 145.
 Rhodes. History of the United States, 5:52, 132, 133 and ch. 30.
 Morse. Lincoln, v. 2, ch. 8.
 Nicolay & Hay. Abraham Lincoln. *See* index under "Reconstruction" etc.
- B* McCarthy. Lincoln's Plans of Reconstruction.
 McCulloch. Men and Measures of Half a Century, p. 378.
 Scott. Reconstruction during the War.

- 1 State indestructible; states rights survive.
- 2 Confederate state governments and officials not recognized.
- 3 Functions of states suspended.
- 4 President's pardon to restore right of government to the people, who then might erect state governments.
- 5 Then Congress ought to admit representatives from these states.
- 6 Johnson more theoretic than Lincoln. The latter had no fixed theory, but believed in the duty of the executive to put the Southern States in their correct relations to the Union.

State suicide theory

- A* Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 60, 61.
 Chadsey. President Johnson and Congress. *See* index under "Sumner."
 Dunning. Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction, p. 105-7.
 Hart. Contemporaries, v. 4, no. 146.
 Story. Charles Sumner.
B Congressional Globe, 1861-67. *See* index under "Sumner."
 McPherson. Rebellion, p. 322.
 Scott. Reconstruction during the War.
 Sumner. Article in Atlantic Monthly, Oct. 1863.

- 1 Originated in 1862 by Charles Sumner.
 No states existed in South.
 Had destroyed themselves and local institutions no longer legally existed.
 Therefore slavery, a local institution, had ceased to exist.
- 2 People had no political rights.
 Congress had power to govern them indefinitely by military, subject only to limitations of the bill of rights of the Constitution and to principles of Declaration of Independence.
- 3 Congress might organize new states without regard to former names and boundaries.
 Should impose conditions when new states were admitted; public school system with no distinction between races; universal manhood suffrage; equality, social and political, to be established.

Conquered province theory

- A* Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 5, 8.
 Dunning. Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction, p. 107-9.
 Hart. Source-Book, no. 130.
 McCall. Thaddeus Stevens, ch. 13-16.

B Congressional Globe, 1867. *See* index under "Stevens."
DeWitt. Impeachment and Trial of Johnson. *See* index
under "Stevens."

Grosvenor. Article in New England Magazine, 24:111.

- 1 This theory announced by Thaddeus Stevens, 1861.
Former Southern States were now conquered
provinces, not even United States territories.
People had no rights under the United States
Constitution; were conquered foreigners.
Secession had been so far successful as to break
bonds between South and North.
- 2 Congress was not fettered by Constitution in deal-
ing with people. Might be guided if it chose
by principles of international law.
By confiscation and deportation Congress should
insure the proper kind of population in former
Southern States.

Forfeited rights theory

A Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 5, 9-61.

Dunning. Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction,
p. 109-21.

Hart. Contemporaries, v. 4, no. 149.

B Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction. *See*
majority report.

- 1 Invented by Shellabarger of Ohio.
Not greatly different from suicide theory.
State governments destroyed.
Secession not possible; states had simply for-
feited all rights and the territorial condition
was resumed.
- 2 The territory was now simply United States ter-
ritory from which Congress could make states
at will by cooperating with the "loyalists" of
such territory.
Congress the final authority in reconstruction.

Topics for papers

- 1 An abstract of the *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction*.
- 2 Thaddeus Stevens during reconstruction.
- 3 Charles Sumner during reconstruction.
- 4 Lincoln's views of negro suffrage.
- 5 Sherman's convention with Johnston.

Chapter 5

"RESTORATION" BY THE PRESIDENT

References

A

- Burgess. *Reconstruction*, ch. 2, 3.
 Cambridge. *Modern History*, 7:625.
 DeWitt. *Impeachment and Trial of Johnson*.
 Dunning. *Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction*, p. 78, 79.
 McCarthy. *Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction*.
 Rhodes. *History of the United States*, v. 4 and 5, under "Reconstruction."

B

- McPherson. *Rebellion*, p. 317-32.
 ——. *Reconstruction*, p. 1-28.
 Richardson. *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, v. 6 and 7 (Lincoln's and Johnson's messages).
 Scott. *Reconstruction during the War*.

Lincoln's plans and acts

- A Burgess. *Reconstruction*, ch. 2.
 DeWitt. *Impeachment and Trial of Johnson*, p. 1, 2.
 MacDonald. *Select Statutes*, nos. 35, 42.
 Morse. *Abraham Lincoln*, v. 2, ch. 8.
 B Nicolay & Hay. *Abraham Lincoln*. See index under "Reconstruction," "Louisiana," "Tennessee," "Arkansas," "Virginia."
 Complete works of Lincoln. See index under "Reconstruction" etc.
 Richardson. *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 6:5, 213, 215, 222, 226.

- 1 Policy outlined in first inaugural message.
- 2 The case of Virginia and West Virginia.
- 3 Amnesty proclamation, Dec. 8, 1863.
Based on President's pardoning power.
Pardon by President to create new citizenship.
He would recognize a state in which 10% of the voters of 1860 would take oath of allegiance.
Kind of oath to be taken.
Laws and proclamations concerning slavery.
Initiative to come from the people.
Nothing said of negro suffrage.
- 4 This plan applied in Louisiana, Tennessee and Arkansas.
- 5 Lincoln opposed to reconstruction by northern men.
- 6 Pocket veto of Wade-Davis bill, July 1864.
It would set aside governments already established in Louisiana and Arkansas.
He did not believe Congress could abolish slavery in the states.
- 7 Proclamation of July 8, 1864.
Reasons for veto of Wade-Davis bill.
Willing to have the people of a state establish a government on the Wade-Davis plan, if they preferred it.
Would commit himself inflexibly to no one plan of restoration.
- 8 Lincoln's views on negro suffrage.
Advised a limited negro suffrage.
Believed states should control suffrage.

Johnson's attempt at "restoration"

- A Burgess. Reconstruction, ch. 3.
- Chadsey. President Johnson and Congress.
- DeWitt. Impeachment and Trial of Johnson.
- Fleming. Alabama, pt 4.
- Garner. Mississippi, ch. 3.
- Hart. Contemporaries, v. 4, no. 148.
- Hollis. Reconstruction in South Carolina, ch. 2.

Lothrop. William H. Seward, ch. 21.

MacDonald. Select Statutes, no. 46-49, 52.

McCulloch. Men and Measures of Half a Century, p. 378.

Rhodes. History of the United States, v. 5, ch. 30.

See index under "Johnson" and "Stanton."

B Andrews. The South Since the War.

Blaine. Twenty Years of Congress, 2:88.

Cox. Three Decades of Federal Legislation.

Fortnightly Review, 4:477; 5:98.

Gorham. Edwin M. Stanton, 2:224-312.

McPherson. Reconstruction, p. 1-28.

New England Magazine, 25:711.

North American Review, 102:250; 145:69.

Richardson. Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 6:310-25.

Savage. Life of Johnson.

Sheridan. Personal Memoirs, v. 2, ch. 10.

Sherman. Recollections, v. 1, ch. 16.

1 Johnson's record before he became president.

2 His radical views on reconstruction in spring and summer of 1865. Influence of Seward and the "President tamers."

3 Lincoln's plan adopted by Johnson.

4 Amnesty proclamation, May 29, 1865.

14 excepted classes. Why excepted.

Meant to shut out all leading men.

Oath prescribed. Compare with oath of Dec. 8, 1863.

5 Provisional civil governments erected.

By war powers of President.

Federal administration reestablished.

6 Constitutional conventions held in Southern States.

New constitutions adopted.

Conventions accept conditions imposed by President.

Slavery abolished by conventions.

War debt repudiated.

New state governments erected.

- 7 Johnson, unlike Lincoln, does not wait for people to take initiative; forces restoration.
- 8 Second stage of provisional government.
 - Legislatures elected and meet.
 - State and county officials elected.
 - Senators and congressmen elected.
9. Legislatures adopted 13th amendment.
 - This required by Johnson.
- 10 Then officials appointed by President give way to those elected by people.
- 11 Presidential reconstruction or "restoration" now complete if Congress will accept it.
 - Southern members of Congress apply for admission.
 - State governments in running order.
- 12 Character and work of provisional government.
 - Effect of proclamation of May 29, 1865, on personnel of governments.
 - Constant interference of President.
 - Effect of this interference.
- 13 Military government during provisional régime.

Topics for papers

- 1 Opposition by Congress to Lincoln's plan of reconstruction; Wade-Davis bill.
- 2 Were the Southern States in or out of the Union?
- 3 Was slavery destroyed by the Emancipation Proclamation or by state action or by the 13th amendment?

Chapter 6

CONGRESS REJECTS THE "RESTORATION"

References

A

- Burgess. Reconstruction, ch. 2-5.
 DeWitt. Impeachment and Trial of Johnson, § 2.
 Dunning. Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction.
 MacDonald. Select Statutes, no. 42-44, 51.
 McCall. Thaddeus Stevens, ch. 13-15.
 Story. Charles Sumner.

B

- Congressional Globe, 1863-67. Under "Stevens," "Sumner,"
 "Wade," "Davis."
 Hollis. Reconstruction in South Carolina, ch. 3.
 McPherson. Rebellion, p. 317-32.
 — Reconstruction. Use table of contents.

Opposition to Lincoln

- A* McCarthy. Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction.
 Scott. Reconstruction during the War.
B Congressional Globe, 1864. See index under "Wade"
 and "Davis."
 McPherson. Rebellion, p. 317.
 Nicolay & Hay. Abraham Lincoln. See index under
 "Wade," "Davis" and "Reconstruction."
- 1 Congress refuses to admit representatives from Arkansas, 1864.
 - 2 Wade-Davis bill, July 1864; President's proclamation July 8, 1864; Wade-Davis protest, August 1864.
 - 3 Radical convention at Cleveland O., May 1864.
 - 4 Congress refuses to count electoral vote of any state that passed ordinance of secession, Feb. 8, 1865.

Roll of the 39th Congress

- A* Barnes. History of the 39th Congress, ch. 7.
 Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 42.
 Chadsey. President Johnson and Congress.
 Dunning. Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction,
 p. 86, 90.
B Blaine. Twenty Years of Congress, 2:203.
 McPherson. Reconstruction, p. 72.

- 1 Southern members-elect of Congress present.
 Republican caucus orders Clerk of House not to
 call the roll of Southern States.
 Southern members thus excluded.
- 2 Stevens's resolution adopted; southern representa-
 tives to be excluded till both houses agree.

Joint committee on reconstruction

- A* Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 41, 57, 85.
 Hollis. Reconstruction in South Carolina, p. 34-61.
 Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction.
B Rhodes. History of the United States, v. 5, ch. 30.

- 1 To report on condition of seceded states.
- 2 Meanwhile southern representatives to be excluded.
- 3 Character of investigation made. Witnesses ex-
 amined.
- 4 Report favors repudiation of President's work of
 restoration, except in Tennessee; "forfeited
 rights" theory; minority report by Reverdy
 Johnson.

Votes and resolutions, 1865-67

- A* DeWitt. Impeachment and Trial of Johnson, § 2-5.
 McPherson. Reconstruction.
 Rhodes. History of the United States, v. 5, ch. 30.
B Barnes. History of the 39th Congress.
 Richardson. Messages and Papers of Congress, v. 7,
 Johnson's veto messages.

- 1 Appointment of joint committee.
- 2 Southern representatives to be excluded.

- 3 Freedmen's Bureau bills.
- 4 Civil rights bill.
- 5 14th amendment.

Legislation in regard to freedmen

- A* Burgess. Reconstruction, ch. 4.
 Clayton. White and Black under the Old Régime,
 p. 156-65.
 Fleming. Alabama, ch. 9.
 — Documents relating to Reconstruction, no. 8.
 Garner. Reconstruction in Mississippi, p. 113-19.
 Hart. Contemporaries, v. 4, no. 151.
 Herbert. Solid South, p. 29-39.
 Rhodes. History of the United States, 5:555-58.
 Thompson. History of the United States, p. 419.
- B* Andrews. South Since the War, ch. 17.
 Blaine. Twenty Years of Congress, 2:93-107.
 Cox. Three Decades of Federal Legislation.
 Eckenrode. Virginia during Reconstruction.
 Hollis. Early Reconstruction Period in South Carolina, p. 48-51.
 McPherson. Reconstruction, p. 29-44.
 Stone. Article in Mississippi Historical Society Publication, v. 4.

- 1 Labor conditions 1865-66.
 Negroes refuse to work. Vagrancy common.
 Price of cotton high; but no labor.
- 2 No laws on statute books were applicable to freedmen; made for whites only.
- 3 Vagrancy laws; an extension to blacks of the laws formerly relating to whites. In most cases laws make no distinction on account of color.
- 4 Apprentice system of whites extended to include blacks.
 Sometimes former master given preference.
 Negro orphans numerous. Law meant that former owner should be responsible for young negroes.

- 5 Criminal laws extended to blacks.
 Distinction of race made in some cases.
 For some offenses negro punished more severely.
 For others, whites punished more severely.
- 6 Rights given negroes to testify in courts, to sue and be sued, to own property. In some states right to bear arms was restricted, and ministers had to be licensed.
- 7 Laws defining race: a negro was a pure black or a person with from $\frac{1}{16}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ negro blood. Mixed schools not allowed.
- 8 Laws relating to marriage.
 Negroes and whites must not intermarry.
 Slave marriages declared valid.
 Marriage laws of whites extended to blacks.
- 9 Substantial civil and legal equality assured to blacks.
 About equivalent to the legal position of white women.
 Social and political inequality.
 Regarded by the law as an inferior race.
- 10 To a certain extent these laws were modeled on the regulations of the Freedmen's Bureau; point of view the opposite.
- 11 Explanation of negro legislation.
- 12 Effect on public opinion in North; became a political issue; laws not accurately described in North.
- 13 Restrictive provisions of these laws were never enforced.
 Regulations of the Freedmen's Bureau prohibited enforcement.

Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands (Freedmen's Bureau)

- A Annual Cyclopaedia, 1864-70, under "Freedmen."
 Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 44, 45, 64, 87.

DuBois. Article in Atlantic Monthly, Mar. 1901.

Fleming. Alabama, ch. 11.

— Documents relating to Reconstruction, nos. 6, 7,
p. 1-56.

Garner. Reconstruction in Mississippi, p. 349.

Herbert. Solid South, ch. 1, 2.

Hollis. Reconstruction in South Carolina, ch. 5.

Pierce. Freedmen's Bureau.

Rhodes. History of the United States, 5:572-98.

B Andrews. The South Since the War.

Barnes. History of the 39th Congress, ch. 5-7, 12.

Bruce. Plantation Negro as a Freeman.

Curtis. Constitutional History, 2:369.

Ku Klux Report (Testimony). See index under "Freed-
men's Bureau."

MacDonald. Select Statutes, no. 44, 51.

McPherson. Reconstruction, p. 67, 68, 147.

Pollard. Lost Cause, ch. 45.

Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, under
"Freedmen's Bureau."

Reports of Grant, Schurz and Truman, referred to in ch.
1 above.

Slater Fund Trustees. Occasional Papers, no. 3.

Taylor. Destruction and Reconstruction, p. 259.

American Journal of Education, 18:135.

Atlantic Monthly. Nov. 1861, (Pierce).

DeBow's Review. n. s. 2:346.

New Princeton Review, 1:373;2:234 (Howard).

Old and New, 1:200, 373 (Andrews).

Southern Magazine, 13:633.

Lippincott's Magazine, 7:609.

- 1 "Department of Negro Affairs" during war.
- 2 Laws establishing the bureau. Veto messages of the President.
- 3 Reasons for establishing the bureau.
 - To stand between white and black.
 - Distrust of former masters.
 - To relieve suffering among negroes and "Union refugees."
 - To take charge of confiscated and abandoned lands.

- 4 Organization: commissioner, assistant commissioners, local superintendents, agents, school superintendents, and inspectors.
- 5 Object and scope of work.
To embrace all matters in which blacks were concerned.
- 6 Relief work: among blacks, among whites.
Issue of rations and clothes.
Medical attendance; hospitals.
Transportation of refugees.
Demoralization caused by relief work.
- 7 Educational and church work.
Allied with northern aid societies.
Character of bureau schools.
Effect on race relations.
Attitude of southern whites.
Bureau encourages separate churches for blacks.
- 8 Finances of bureau.
Sources of income; amount expended.
Discrepancies. Defalcations. Charges of corruption.
Investigations by Congress. General Howard.
- 9 Confiscated lands.
Lands allotted to negroes.
Causes belief in "40 acres and a mule"; disorder and idleness.
Swindling of negroes by pretended land agents.
- 10 Regulation of labor.
Contract system required.
Hours, wages, and time of payment fixed.
Why these regulations failed: too much theory; no regard to actual conditions.
- II Bureau courts.
Jurisdiction of these courts.
Please blacks, irritate whites.
Quality of justice administered.

Purchase of some officials by whites. Black-mail.

12 Character of bureau officials.

Higher officials usually good.

Local agents usually camp followers and adventurers of bad character.

13 The bureau as a political machine.

Secures control of blacks.

Bureau officials enter politics in 1867.

Most of them elected to office by negro votes.

14 Effect of the work of bureau.

Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company (Freedmen's Savings Bank)

A Fleming. Alabama, ch. 11, § 2.

— Documents relating to Reconstruction, nos. 6, 7, p. 56-63.

Hoffman. Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro, p. 289-90.

Williams. History of the Negro Race, v. 2.

B Douglass. Life and Times.

DuBois. Souls of Black Folk.

House Misc. Doc. no. 16. 43d Cong. 2d Sess.

Reports of Freedmen's Bureau officials in Public Documents. See tables and index under "Freedmen's Bureau" and "District of Columbia."

Senate Rep't, no. 449, 48th Cong. 2d Sess.

Banker's Magazine (N. Y.) 29:936; 36:14.

Nation, 20:253, 289.

Old and New, 2:245.

1 Object of institution; incorporators.

2 Organization; connection with Freedmen's Bureau.

3 Bank book used by depositors.

4 Good effect on negroes.

Many begin to save money.

Purchase lands and homes.

5 Volume of business done.

6 Corruption, mismanagement, failure.

Negroes lost their deposits, discouraged.

United States government winds up affairs of the bank.

Campaign of 1866 and defeat of President*A* Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 98-104.

Cambridge. Modern History, 7:629.

DeWitt. Impeachment and Trial of Johnson.

Gorham. Edwin M. Stanton, 2:329.

Herbert. Solid South, p. 11-21.

Rhodes. History of the United States, v. 5, ch. 30.

B Barnes. History of the 39th Congress.

McCall. Thaddeus Stevens, ch. 15.

McPherson. Handbook of Politics for 1866.

— Reconstruction, p. 118-20, 123-24, 240-42.

Savage. Life of Johnson.

- 1 The issue: "restoration" by the President or "reconstruction" by Congress.
- 2 Conventions of soldiers and sailors.
- 3 The President enters the contest; his speeches; "swinging round the circle."
- 4 National conventions and platforms.
- 5 President defeated; explanation.

Topics for papers

- 1 What was peculiar about the calling of the roll of the 39th Congress?
- 2 Provisions of the Civil Rights act.
- 3 Explain necessity for legislation in regard to freedmen.
- 4 Blaine's argument against the freedmen's codes.
- 5 Herbert's defense of the laws.
- 6 Essential provisions of the laws.
- 7 The good accomplished by the Freedmen's Bureau.
- 8 Evil results of the bureau's work.

- 9 Failure of the Freedmen's Savings Bank.
 10 One of the President's speeches in 1866.
 11 "Swinging round the circle."
 [See also material in appendix]

Chapter 7

"RECONSTRUCTION" BY CONGRESS

References

A

- Andrews. United States in Our Own Time, ch. 1.
 Burgess. Reconstruction, ch. 4-9.
 Dunning. Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction, ch. 2-5.
 Fleming. Article in American Historical Magazine, July 1903.
 Garner. Mississippi, ch. 5, 7.
 McCall. Thaddeus Stevens, ch. 16.
 Story. Charles Sumner.

B

- Barnes. History of the 39th Congress.
 Davis. Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, v. 2,
 ch. 56, 57.
 Gorham. Edwin M. Stanton, 2:312-458.
 Hoar. Autobiography, v. 1, ch. 17.
 Hollis. Reconstruction in South Carolina, ch. 3 and 4.
 McPherson. Handbook of Politics for 1867.
 — Reconstruction.

Progress of opposition to President before 1867

- A Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 15, 57, 67.
 DeWitt. Impeachment and Trial of Johnson, § 2-5.
 Hart. Contemporaries, v. 4, no. 152.
 B Barnes. History of the 39th Congress, ch. 4, 8, 11,
 12, 19.
 MacDonald. Select Statutes, nos. 50-55.
 McPherson. Reconstruction.

- 1 Wade-Davis bill; rejection of Arkansas congressmen; electoral vote 1865.
- 2 Irritation caused by unwise speeches of President.
- 3 First civil rights act passed over veto, 1866.
 Conferred United States citizenship on the negro.
 Gave negro legal and civil equality in all states.
 To be enforced by severe penalties.
- 4 14th amendment proposed by Congress.
 To make effective the civil rights act.
 To reduce southern representation or to induce states to allow negroes to vote.
 To disfranchise prominent whites in South.
 To secure United States public debt and repudiate Confederate war debt.
 Not sent to President for his approval as Constitution provides.
 President opposed amendment.
 This amendment to be required of the Southern States.
- 5 Second Freedmen's Bureau act passed over veto, 1866.
 Greatly enlarged power of bureau.
 Objections of President.
 Dissatisfaction among moderate Republicans.
- 6 Restoration of Tennessee, July 24, 1866.
 Preamble asserts authority of Congress over reconstruction.
- 7 Report of joint committee on reconstruction.
- 8 Negro suffrage in District of Columbia and in the territories, January 1867.

Tenure of office act, Mar. 2, 1867

- A* Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 122.
 DeWitt. Impeachment and Trial of Johnson, ch. 2.
 Dunning. Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction, p. 261.
 MacDonald. Select Statutes, no. 57.

B Barnes. History of the 39th Congress, p. 559-60.
 Gorham. Edwin M. Stanton, v. 2, ch. 109.

- 1 To limit power of President over officials.
- 2 Fear that President would use power of dismissal to strengthen his position against Congress.
- 3 Left him only power of suspension.

Command of army act, Mar. 2, 1867

A Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 128.
 DeWitt. Impeachment and Trial of Johnson, p. 201-2.
 MacDonald. Select Statutes, no. 59.
B McPherson. Reconstruction, p. 178.

- 1 Rider to army appropriation bill.
- 2 President deprived of command of army. Headquarters to be in Washington.
- 3 General of army could not be interfered with by President.
- 4 All orders to army to come from or through general of the army.
- 5 Effect anticipated in estranging Johnson and Grant.

Reconstruction acts of Congress, 1867

A Andrews. United States in Our Own Time, p. 18-20.
 Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 112-38.
 DeWitt. Impeachment and Trial of Johnson, ch. 2.
 Dunning. Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction, p. 123-25
 Fleming. Alabama, ch. 12.
 Garner. Mississippi, p. 156.
 MacDonald. Select Statutes, nos. 56, 62, 64, 67.
 Wilson. History of the American People, v. 5, ch. 1.
B Barnes. History of the 39th Congress, ch. 22.
 Herbert. Solid South, ch. 7 and appendix.
 McPherson. Reconstruction, p. 166-73, 178-81.
 Richardson. Messages and Papers of the Presidents, v. 7, see Johnson's veto messages.

1 Act of Mar. 2, 1867.

Southern state governments overturned.

Five military districts established.

Each under command of general officer of the army.

To rule by martial law.

Terms of escape: negro suffrage; disfranchisement of leading whites; adoption of 14th amendment.

Military commander might use provisional government.

2 Act of Mar. 23, 1867.

Seemed that southern whites preferred military rule.

Generals to make registration of voters and to include blacks.

To hold elections for constitutional conventions in each state.

Constitutions adopted to be sent to Congress for approval.

Generals in control of machinery of elections.

3 Act of July 19, 1867.

Interpretation of former acts by President and his Cabinet.

Interpretation of Congress which repudiates instructions of President.

President deprived of authority over subordinate commanders.

4 Supreme ruling body during reconstruction.

Congress for the country at large.

Joint committee on reconstruction for the South.

Dissaffection in Cabinet

A Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 90, 142.

DeWitt. Impeachment and Trial of Johnson.

McCulloch. Men and Measures.

B Gorham. Edwin M. Stanton, 2:300.

- 1 Speed, Dennison and Harlan disagree with Johnson and resign.
- 2 Stanton disagrees, but holds his place; encouraged by Republican leaders; uses his position to hinder President.
- 3 Stanton suspended, August 1867, after having refused to resign. General Grant made acting Secretary of War.

Impeachment of President, March to May 1868

- A* Blaine. Twenty Years of Congress, v. 2, ch. 14.
 Boutwell. Reminiscences, 2:55, 96, 112, 113.
 — Article in McClure's Magazine, 14:171.
 Burgess. Reconstruction, ch. 9.
 Chadsey. President Johnson and Congress.
 DeWitt. Impeachment and Trial of Johnson.
 Dunning. Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction, p. 253-303.
 Hart. Contemporaries, v. 4, no. 134.
 McCall. Thaddeus Stevens, ch. 18.
 McCulloch. Men and Measures, p. 392.
 MacDonald. Select Statutes, no. 66.
 Ross. Article in Forum, 19:595; in Scribner's, 11:519.
 Schofield. Article in Century Magazine, 32:576.
 Sherman. Recollections, v. 1, ch. 19.
 Story. Charles Sumner, p. 332, 347-51.
- B* Congressional Globe, 40th Cong. 2d Sess. Supplement on Trial of the President.
 Godkin articles in the Nation, 3:310; 4:170-75, 214; 6:184, 404.
 Gorham. Edwin M. Stanton, 2:393-458.
 [Gov't Printing Office]. Trial of Andrew Johnson on Impeachment: v. 1, Preliminaries, Opening Arguments, Evidence; v. 2, Arguments and Final Vote; v. 3, Opinions and Appendix.
 Hart. Salmon P. Chase, p. 358-60.
 Harper's Weekly, Sep. 3, 1904.
 McPherson. Reconstruction, p. 264-82.
 North American Review, (141:570.)
 [Peterson]. Great Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson.

[Rives & Bailey]. Proceedings in the Trial of Andrew Johnson.

Senate Journal, 40th Cong., 2d Sess.

- 1 Early attempts at impeachment; nature of charges.
- 2 President an obstacle in way of congressional reconstruction.
- 3 Trouble with Stanton.
- 4 Attempts to get tenure of office act before courts.
- 5 General Grant becomes hostile to Johnson.
- 6 Articles of impeachment; charges.
 - Violation of tenure of office act of Mar. 2, 1867.
 - Violation of anticonspiracy act of July 31, 1861.
 - Violation of command of army act of Mar. 2, 1867.
 - High misdemeanors in his speeches in 1866.
- 7 Trial of President.
 - Organization of court. Political or judicial body.
 - Prosecution and defense.
 - Evidence in the case.
 - Pressure brought to bear to secure conviction.
 - Republican senators who voted for acquittal.
 - Failure of impeachment.
 - General result of failure.

Execution of reconstruction acts

- A Burgess. Reconstruction, ch. 8, 10, 11.
- Dunning. Essays, p. 136-76, 176-253.
- Fleming. Alabama, ch. 12-15.
- Article in American Historical Magazine, July 1903.
- Garner. Mississippi, ch. 5.
- Herbert. Solid South (any state).
- Hollis. Reconstruction in South Carolina, ch. 3, 4.
- B MacDonald. Select Statutes, no. 67-69.
- Mississippi Historical Society, Publications, v. 2 (Power).
- Sheridan. Personal Memoirs, v. 2, ch. 11.

- 1 Commanders appointed in South.
- 2 Military government; character of generals; their methods.
- 3 Registration of voters; character of registrars; negro majorities in five states; small white majorities in five states.
- 4 Elections held for constitutional conventions.
Efforts to get entire negro vote out.
- 5 Conventions: character of delegates.
"Black and tan"; "Black crook"; "Menagerie."
Ridicule by southern whites.
Parties in conventions.
Work of conventions.
- 6 New constitutions; how ratified.
Ratified in Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Louisiana.
Rejected in Alabama and Mississippi.
Affairs in Virginia and Texas.
Frauds in elections.
- 7 Act of Mar. 11, 1868, changing acts of Mar. 2 and 23, 1867. The case of Alabama.
- 8 Reconstructed legislatures meet and ratify 14th amendment.
- 9 Congress then admits Southern States to representation.
Fundamental conditions imposed in regard to suffrage.
Character of new representatives.
Party necessity causes early readmission of some states.
- 10 14th amendment adopted. Seward's peculiar proclamation.
- 11 Campaign of 1868: platforms and candidates.
- 12 Delay in reconstruction in Virginia, Texas and Mississippi. Further conditions imposed: 15th amendment.

- 13 Georgia expelled; final restoration.
- 14 President Grant and reconstruction.
- 15 Withdrawal of the Freedmen's Bureau. Repeal of cotton tax.
- 16 Are the states equal?

Supreme Court and reconstruction

A Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 12, 144, 146, 196, 197.

Dunning. Article in Atlantic Monthly, Oct. 1901.

Garner. Mississippi, p. 159, 168.

B Cambridge Modern History, 7:633.

Dunning. Essays. See index.

See list of Supreme Court decisions in appendix to this syllabus.

- 1 Personnel of the court. Chase. Signs of reaction.
- 2 Grapeshot case, on Lincoln's Provisional Court in Louisiana [4 Wallace].
- 3 Ex parte Milligan [4 Wallace 2]: Military commissions in state not in insurrection are not constitutional.
- 4 Mississippi *v.* Johnson [4 Wallace 475]: Supreme Court declined to interfere in matters pertaining to political departments of government.
- 5 Ex parte McCordle [6 Wallace 318; 7 Wallace 506]: Brought reconstruction acts before Supreme Court. By act of Mar. 27, 1868, Congress abolished jurisdiction of Supreme Court. Fear that court would decide against constitutionality of acts.
- 6 Ex parte Garland [4 Wallace 333 and ex parte Cummings 4 Wallace 277]: Test oath to exclude Confederates from professions not constitutional.
- 7 Texas *v.* White, 1869 [7 Wallace 700]: Supreme Court theory of reconstruction; forfeited rights; indissoluble union of indestructible states.

Topics for papers

- 1 History of the 14th amendment.
- 2 Quarrel between General Grant and President Johnson.
- 3 Stanton as a cabinet official under Johnson.
- 4 Causes of the impeachment.
- 5 A description of the trial before the Senate.
- 6 "Black and tan" convention in South Carolina.
- 7 National party platforms of 1868, on question of reconstruction.
- 8 The steps by which a state came back into the Union [Herbert, any chapter].
- 9 Chief Justice Chase on reconstruction [Hart].

Chapter 8

CARPETBAG AND NEGRO RULE

References

A

- Andrews. United States in Our Own Time, ch. 5, 6.
 Bancroft. Negro in Politics.
 Burgess. Reconstruction, ch. 12.
 Chamberlain. Article in Atlantic Monthly, April 1901.
 Fleming. Alabama, pt. 6.
 — Documents relating to Reconstruction, nos. 3-5.
 Garner. Mississippi, p. 186-389.
 Herbert. Solid South.
 Nordhoff. Cotton States in 1875.
 Page. Article in Atlantic Monthly, Sep. 1901.
 Pike. Prostrate State.
 Somers. Southern States Since the War.

B

- Andrews. Articles in Scribner's Magazine (1895) p. 270, 441, 566.
 Forum. 5:383.
 Harrell. Brooks-Baxter War in Arkansas.
 King. Great South.
 Mississippi Historical Society Publications, v. 2-8.
 New England Magazine, 26:148.

North American Review, 103:520; 123:249; 128:161.

Wallace. Carpet Bag Rule in Florida.

The new electorate

Andrews. Our Own Time, p. 20, 21.

Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 245-46.

Garner. Mississippi, p. 135, 187, 414.

Herbert. Solid South, p. 27, 42.

- 1 Proportion of white voters to blacks in each state.
- 2 Number and character of whites disfranchised.
- 3 Leaders: aliens (carpetbaggers); native whites (scalawags); negroes.

Government for the benefit of the governors

A Andrews. Our Own Time, ch. 4.

Burgess. Reconstruction, ch. 12.

Fleming. Alabama, ch. 17, 18.

Reconstruction Documents, nos. 4, 5.

Garner. Mississippi, p. 189.

Hart. Contemporaries, v. 4, no. 157; Source-Book, no. 132.

Herbert. Solid South, any chapter.

B Nordhoff. Cotton states in 1875.

Phelps. Article in Atlantic Monthly, July 1901.

Pike. Prostrate State.

Political Science Quarterly, 9:692.

- 1 Increase in number of offices; salaries larger: expenses of administration greater.
- 2 Character of rulers. Property and intelligence no voice in government. Government by nontaxpayers.
- 3 Taxation and public debts.
 - Compare with antebellum statistics.
 - Frauds in bond issues.
 - Effect of heavy taxation on property values.
- 4 Railroad bond indorsements.
 - Methods used to secure indorsement.
 - States become responsible for railroad debts.
- 5 "Supplies," "pay certificates," lands for negroes, census, "gratuities," and militia in South Carolina.
- 6 Conditions in Louisiana and Arkansas.

7 Other states not so badly misgoverned.

8 Other forms of misgovernment.

9 Election methods and election laws.

Test oaths, registration, reenfranchisement.

10 General character of reconstruction state legislation.

11 Use of Federal troops in South, 1868-76.

12 Organization of negro militia; arms refused to whites.

13 Relations between the races during reconstruction.

Union ("Loyal") League

A Fleming. Alabama, ch. 16.

— Documents relating to Reconstruction, no. 3.

Gulf States Historical Magazine, September 1903, article on "Union League."

Herbert. Solid South, p. 41-43.

Pierce. Freedmen's Bureau, p. 58, 163-66.

B Century Magazine, 6:949.

Ku Klux Report, Testimony. See index under "Union League."

Lester and Wilson. Ku Klux Klan, p. 45.

1 Origin of Union League.

2 Extension to South; early organization.

3 Literature circulated by league.

4 Blacks admitted to membership; effect on white membership.

5 Constitution, ritual and "catechism"; initiation of members; pledges exacted.

6 Methods employed to enforce loyalty to radical party.

7 Importance of the order as a political machine.

8 Methods employed in politics.

9 Decline of the order; Union League and Kuklux Klan.

10 Red Strings; Black Avengers; Sons of the Republic, Alcorn Clubs, National Guards, Lincoln Brotherhood, and other orders.

Reconstruction in the schools

- A* Fleming. Alabama, ch. 5, 19.
- Garner. Mississippi, ch. 10.
- Montgomery Conference. Race Problems, p. 83, 113.
- Murphy. Present South.
- Harris. Negro Servitude in Illinois, ch. 13.
- Talbot. Samuel C. Armstrong.
- B* American Journal of Education, 16:283.
- Curry. Slater Fund, Occasional Papers, no. 3, 5.
- Tillinghast. Negro in Africa and America, p. 194-208.

- 1 Antebellum school system.
- 2 System of 1865-67.
- 3 Negro in northern schools, 1864-67.
- 4 Reconstructed system.
- 5 Freedmen's Bureau, northern missionaries, and aid societies.
- 6 Opposition of whites to reconstructed schools.
- 7 Conditions at close of reconstruction.
- 8 Influence of reconstruction on public school system.

Reconstruction in the churches

- A* DuBois. Negro Church.
- Fleming. Alabama, ch. 20.
- Gulf States Historical Magazine, Sep. 1902.
- Kelsey. Negro Farmer, ch. 5.
- Montgomery Conference, Race Problems, p. 114-59.
- B* Ku Klux Report. *See* index under churches.
- Methodist Quarterly, 26:418.
- Tillinghast. Negro in Africa and America, p. 194-208.

- 1 Failure of "disintegration and absorption" policy.
- 2 Permanent religious divisions.
- 3 "Democratic" and "Republican" methodists.
- 4 Character and influence of northern missionaries.
- 5 Southern churches and negro education.
- 6 Negro churches of South.
- 7 Ku Klux Klan burns negro churches and school-houses.
- 8 Results of religious reconstruction.

Topics for papers

- 1 Carpetbag and negro rule in one southern state.
 - 2 Frauds in South Carolina or Louisiana.
 - 3 Political influence of the Union League.
 - 4 Mistakes in negro education during reconstruction.
 - 5 Character of negro preachers.
 - 6 How were negro churches formed?
- [See material in appendix]

Chapter 9

RECONSTRUCTION OVERTHROWN

Kuklux movement

- A* Andrews. Our Own Time, ch. 2.
 Atlantic Monthly, 87:634 (Brown).
 Brown. Lower South, ch. 4.
 Century Magazine, 6:398.
 Fleming. Alabama, ch. 21.
 — Documents relating to Reconstruction, no. 1, 2, 4, 5.
 Garner. Mississippi, ch. 9.
 Lester and Wilson. Ku Klux Klan.
 Somers. Southern States, p. 35, 152.
- B* Beard. Ku Klux Sketches.
 Blaine. Twenty Years, 2:468.
 Brewer. Children of Issachar.
 Dixon. The Clansman.
 Gentlemen's Magazine, n. s. no. 40, p. 436 (de Horiland).
 Southern History Association. Publications, Sep. 1903.
 Southern Bivouac, 4:269.
 Tourgee. Invisible Empire.
 Washington. Up from Slavery, p. 77-79.
 Wilson. American People, v. 5, ch. 1.

1 Causes of the movement.

"A disordered society and a bewildered people."
 Missionaries and teachers from North.

- Idleness and thievery among negroes.
- Corruption in government.
- Negroes on all fertile lands.
- Hostility of low class whites to negro.
- Fear of negro militia; social equality. Danger to women.
- Disfranchisement of whites.
- 2 Nature of the movement: secret, revolutionary, illegal.
- 3 Predecessors of the Ku Klux Klan.
 - Antebellum and postbellum patrols.
 - Vigilance committees, 1865-66.
 - Black Cavalry and similar bodies.
- 4 Origin and growth of the Ku Klux Klan (Invisible Empire).
 - A social club in Pulaski Tenn.
 - Changed to a body of regulators.
 - Prescript or constitution adopted.
 - Expansion over Southern States.
 - Territory occupied by the Klan.
 - Character of members and leaders.
 - Degeneration into violence.
- 5 Knights of the White Camelia.
 - Began in Louisiana, 1867.
 - Extended over the lower South.
 - Constitution and ritual of the order.
 - Compared with Ku Klux Klan.
- 6 Other orders: White League, White Brotherhood, Pale Faces, Constitutional Union Guards, Council of Safety, White Rose; scores of local orders.
 - Territory occupied by the societies.
- 7 Methods and work of the secret orders.
 - Defensive at first, later offensive.
 - Terror as a means of controlling the blacks.
 - Disguises, threats, night-riding.

Kuklux orders, warnings and punishments.
 More violence in white counties than in black.
 Operate at certain seasons of the year.
 Conservative politicians oppose orders.
 Effect on political and social conditions.

8 Spurious Kuklux organizations.

Degenerate Kuklux; Anti-Kuklux; bands of out-laws. Negro Kuklux.

Antinegro sentiment among poor whites.

9 Results of movement.

Made whites safer in life and property.

Drove out carpetbaggers and scalawags.

Suppressed part of negro vote.

State governments brought under control of whites.

Established leadership of second-rate conservative politicians.

“Southern Outrages” and the “Force laws”

A Andrews. Our Own Time, p. 39.

Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 253, 262.

Cambridge Modern History, 7:642.

Fleming. Alabama, ch. 21.

Garner. Mississippi, p. 351-53.

MacDonald. Select Statutes, no. 85, 91, 92, 99.

B McPherson. Handbook of Politics, 1872, p. 3-16, 85-91.

1 “Southern Outrages” a political issue, 1865-76.

2 Newspapers forbidden to print Kuklux orders.

3 Periodic outbreaks; when really occur; when radicals claim they occur.

4 Kuklux investigation, 1871-72.

5 Use of United States troops; attitude of whites toward United States troops.

6 Passage of enforcement laws, 1870-71.

7 Act of May 31, 1870; “force bill.”

To enforce 15th amendment.

Regulated elections in Southern States.

Directed against *persons* not *states*.

- Jurisdiction of federal officers and federal courts.
- Constitutionality of the law.
- 8 Supplementary enforcement act, Feb. 28, 1871.
 - Placed control of elections under federal authorities.
- 9 "Kuklux act" of Ap. 20, 1871.
 - To enforce the 14th amendment.
 - Aimed at *persons* not *states*.
 - Conspiracy clause.
 - President to use army and navy.
 - Practically a declaration that a state of war existed.
- 10 Object of these laws. Constitutionality. Effect on state governments.
- 11 Execution of force laws.
 - Kuklux trials; wholesale arrests.
 - Martial law declared in South Carolina.
 - Did not check Kuklux movement, but changed it.
- 12 Civil rights act, 1875.
 - Negroes must have same rights as whites in hotels, steamboats, trains, places of amusement, etc.
 - Constitutionality of this law.

Reaction in Northern States

- A Andrews. Our Own Time, ch. 3, 4, 5.
 - Atlantic Monthly, 88:437.
 - Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 247-49, 272.
 - Cambridge Modern History, 7:639-43.
 - B McPherson. Handbooks of Politics, 1872, 1874.
- 1 Industrial development and expansion. Passions cooler.
 - 2 Dissatisfaction with Grant's advisers; spoils system; nepotism.
 - 3 Lack of regard for legalities causes criticism of administration.
 - 4 Effect of the Kuklux investigations; showed true nature of negro government.

- 5 Northern people became acquainted with nature of carpetbag governments. Dissatisfaction with policy of administration in South.
- 6 "Liberal" Republicans. "New Departure" Democrats.
- 7 Grant-Greeley campaign, 1872: The issues and the candidates.
- 8 Amnesty act of May 22, 1872.
- 9 Corruption in North: Indian agent peculations; Crédit Mobilier scandal; Whiskey Ring; resignation of Belknap; Blaine; "salary grab" (1873); no appropriation for civil service, 1874.
- 10 Democrats gain six northern states, 1872-75; two thirds of Congress, 1874-75.
- 11 Republicans put forward moderate leaders.
Search for new issues; put House in order for new election.
- 12 Parties and platforms in 1876.

Overthrow of carpetbag governments, 1869-76

- A* Andrews. *Our Own Time*, ch. 5, 6.
 Burgess. *Reconstruction*, p. 247-49, 273-75.
 Cambridge Modern History, 7:642.
 Fleming. *Alabama*, pt. 7.
 Garner. *Mississippi*, ch. 11.
 Herbert. *Solid South*. *See* each state.
 Wilson. *American People*, v. 5, ch. 1.
B Atlantic Monthly, 88:437.
 Political Science Quarterly, 1894, p. 671.
 Scribner's Monthly, 17:566.

- 1 First series of Democratic victories: Tennessee, 1869; West Virginia, Missouri, North Carolina, 1870; Georgia, 1871. Democratic successes in North also.
- 2 Second series: Alabama, Arkansas, Texas, 1871; Mississippi, 1875.
- 3 Third series: Louisiana, Florida, South Carolina, 1876.

- 4 Methods used to overthrow carpetbag governments.
- 5 Result of overthrow: reforms, economy; taxation and expenditure reduced; credit raised; new constitutions made.
- 6 Southern Republicans in Congress.
In 1869, 20 senators and 40 representatives.
In 1877, 2 senators and 40 representatives.
- 7 Exodus of carpetbaggers.

Election of 1876 and end of carpetbag rule

- A* Andrews. Our Own Time, ch. 8, 9.
Burgess. Reconstruction, ch. 13.
Cambridge Modern History, 7:642, 644, 645.
Gibson. Political Crime.
Herbert. Solid South, p. 110, 165, 166, 424-27.
Atlantic Monthly, 87:473.
McClure's Magazine, May 1904.
Pearson's Magazine, Nov. 1903.
- B* Bigelow. Life of Tilden.
Curtis. Constitutional history, v. 2.
Sherman. Recollections, 7:550.
South Carolina Women in the Confederacy, p. 376-85.
Harper's Weekly, July 30, 1904.
Public Opinion, 7:504.
Scribner's Monthly, 17:566, 720.

- 1 Candidates: Hayes, Moderate Republican; Tilden, Conservative Democrat. Radical leaders rejected.
- 2 Issue: gradual or immediate undoing of reconstruction.
Returns: Tilden, 184; Hayes, 166; 19 disputed; necessary to elect, 185. Opinion on the day after election.
- 4 Conditions in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida.
- 5 Work of Republican campaign managers and "the visiting statesmen."

- 6 Counting of the electoral vote.
Double returns; 22d joint rule.
- 7 Electoral commission created. Case of Judge Davis.
- 8 Decisions of commission.
- 9 Bargain with South.
Disputed electoral votes counted for Hayes.
Military forces withdrawn from South.
State governments turned over to Democrats.
"Solid South" formed.
- 10 Fate of radical party in South.

Topics for papers

- 1 Describe one of the Kuklux orders.
 - 2 Objects of the Kuklux movement.
 - 3 Purpose of the "Force" laws. Criticize them
[Burgess].
 - 4 Why did the northern people become dissatisfied
with reconstruction?
 - 5 Methods used to overthrow carpetbag govern-
ments. "Mississippi plan."
 - 6 How was Hayes made President?
 - 7 Result of the election of 1876 in Louisiana, Florida
and South Carolina.
 - 8 Political career of Wade Hampton.
- [See material in appendix]

Chapter 10

UNDOING OF RECONSTRUCTION

References

Cambridge Modern History, 7:648.
Atlantic Monthly, Oct. 1901 (Dunning).

Supreme Court and reconstruction laws

- 1 Slaughterhouse cases [16 Wallace 36]: 14th amend-
ment does not restrict "police" powers of a state.

- Other decisions continue to restrict 14th amendment.
- 2 U. S. *v.* Reese, 1875 [92 U. S. 214] U. S. *v.* Harris, 1882 [106 U. S. 629]: Sections of enforcement acts declared unconstitutional.
 - 3 Civil rights act declared unconstitutional in 1883 [109 U. S. 3]. Social rights.
 - 4 Supreme Court and fundamental conditions imposed by reconstruction; new constitutions of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Virginia, South Carolina, and North Carolina [170 U. S. 213; 189 U. S. 475; 192 U. S. 246].
 - 5 Supreme Court and rights of the negro under new constitutions.
- [See list of cases in appendix; U. S. Rep'ts 159-93]

Revision of election laws

- Andrews. Our Own Time, ch. 25, p. 339-46.
 Atlantic Monthly, Oct. 1901 (Dunning)
 Cambridge Modern History, 7:647.
 Political Science Quarterly, 9:671; 13:495.

- 1 Registration tests; education; poll tax.
- 2 Gerrymandering: "shoe string" and "dumb-bell" districts.
- 3 Indirect and complicated laws.
 "Eight ballot box" law. Removal of voting places at short notice.
- 4 Trickery and evasion. Use of carpetbag methods.

Destruction of negro Republican party

- Atlantic Monthly, Oct. 1901 (Dunning).
 Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 296-98.
 Garner. Mississippi, p. 410-14.

- 1 Composition of party, 1868-76: character and purposes of leaders.
- 2 "Mississippi plan"; shotgun methods.

- 3 Social and business ostracism of white Republicans.
- 4 Democratic successes in 1884 and 1892.

Take away patronage from Republicans.

- 5 Composition of Republican party, so called, in South 1876-1900: character and purposes of leaders.
"Black and tan", and "Lily white" divisions.
Success in elections not desired.

- 6 Main purpose of organization in Southern States is to hold federal offices.
Character of leaders; alliance with certain democratic politicians.

New constitutions and limitation of the franchise

- A* Atlantic Monthly, Oct. 1901 (Dunning).
Atlantic Monthly, July 1904.
Brown. Lower South, ch. 5.
Forum, 14:797; 32:460.
Murphy. Present South, ch. 6.
— Article in North American Review, Jan. 1905.
North American Review, 32:239, 569; 175:534.
Review of Reviews, 25:716.
Scribner's Magazine, July 1904.
- B* See also Library of Congress, Bibliography on Negro Question and list of cases in appendix, U. S. Rep'ts 159-93.

- 1 Conditions imposed on states at readmission.
- 2 Terms of 14th and 15th amendments.
- 3 Limitation of franchise began about 1890. Reasons.
- 4 Evasion of amendments: "grandfather", "old soldier", "good character", and "understanding" clauses.
- 5 Evasive provisions of new constitutions only temporary.
- 6 Educational, taxpaying and property qualifications.
- 7 Progress of disfranchisement; effect on white and on black vote. Effect on character of government. Relation to women suffrage.

- 8 Supreme Court and new constitutions.
- 9 Difficulties in way of enforcing amendments.

Topics for papers

- 1 Methods of eliminating negro vote.
- 2 Attitude of Supreme Court.
- 3 Republican party in the South.
- 4 Suffrage provisions of one of the new southern constitutions.
- 5 How may the 14th and 15th amendments be enforced?
- 6 What effect has the 15th amendment on the second section of the 14th?

Chapter II

RESULTS OF RECONSTRUCTION

References

A

- Andrews. Our Own Time, ch. 25.
 Amer. Academy of Political and Social Science, America's Social Problems.
 Abbott, E. H. Negro Problems (*see* Outlook 1904, index).
 Burgess. Reconstruction, p. 298.
 DuBois. Souls of Black Folk.
 Harris. Life of Henry W. Grady, p. 69.
 Kelsey. Negro Farmer.
 Montgomery Conference. Race Problems.
 Murphy. Present South.
 Outlook, 77:677-79.
 Page. The Negro; the Southerners' Problem.
 Shaler. The Citizen, p. 207-15, 220-38.
 Smith. Color Line.

B

- Atlanta University Publications.
 Eliot, C. W. (*See* International Quarterly, Sep. 1904).

McCracken. *Women of America*, chapter on "Southern Women and Reconstruction."

Southern Workman (of Hampton Institute).

Status of political parties in South

- 1 Democratic party. "Solid South". White man's party. "Commercial" Democrats.
Conventions and primaries.
- 2 Republican party. Federal patronage. Negroes. Mountain whites. Incompatible elements.
- 3 Significance of populist movement.
Why it failed in South?
- 4 Political morality; machine politics. Less interest and intelligence in politics.

Conditions in education and in churches

A Abbott. *Religious Life in America*.

American Negro Academy. Occasional Papers, no. 10.

Brown. Article in *Outlook*, Oct. 1904.

DuBois. *Negro Church*.

Gunby. *Negro Education*.

Kelsey. *Negro Farmer*, ch. 5.

Montgomery Conference. *Race Problems*.

Murphy. *Present South*.

Talbot. Samuel C. Armstrong.

Washington. *Up from Slavery*.

B *Manufacturers Record*, 1903-5, Editorials on southern education.

Reports of Southern Education Board.

- 1 Only small expenditures could be made for schools after reconstruction.
Taxation falls principally on whites.
- 2 Sparse population: two schools in every community necessary, one for each race. Neglect of white children in black counties and of black children in white counties.
- 3 Unsatisfactory results in negro education. Change in character of the schools. The "Washington Idea". Its opponents.

Some white people demand that only taxes from negroes be used for negro schools.

- 4 Northern aid to southern education. Lack of understanding and cooperation. "Ogdenism". Distrust of federal or northern aid to southern education.
- 5 Negro church; unsatisfactory conditions during and after reconstruction; improvement in character and education of ministers; slowly increased influence of the best ones. Relations between white churches and black.
- 6 Montgomery Race Conference, 1900.

Industrial reconstruction

- A Brown. Article in North American Review, Dec. 1904.
- Bruce. Plantation Negro as a Freeman.
- DuBois. Souls of Black Folk.
- DuBois. Negro Artisan.
- DuBois. United States Dep't of Labor, bulletins 14, 22, 35.
- ✓ Fleming. Alabama, ch. 22.
- Articles in American Journal of Sociology, Jan. 1905; in Sewanee Review, Jan. 1905; in Political Science Quarterly, June 1905.
- Kelsey. Negro Farmer.
- ✓ Murphy. Present South, ch. 19-22.
- Phillips. Article in South Atlantic Quarterly, 1903.
- ✓ Smedes. Southern Planter, ch. 19-22.
- ✓ Spahr. America's Working People, p. 72-90.
- Stone. Article in South Atlantic Quarterly, Jan. 1905; in Quarterly Jour. of Economics, March 1905.
- ✓ Tillinghast. Negro in Africa and America, p. 176-93.
- ✓ Washington. Up from Slavery.
- B American Academy of Political and Social Science, America's Race Problems (Winston).
- Brackett. Negro in Maryland.
- ✓ Cable. Silent South.
- Chattanooga Tradesman, Aug. 15, and Oct. 15, 1891.
- Fortune. Black and White: Land, Labor and Politics in the South.
- Manufacturers Record of recent years. See index in each issue, on "Immigration", "Labor", etc.

Smith. Cotton Production in Alabama, census of 1880.
 Somers. Southern States, under "agriculture", "cotton", "negroes".

Stone. Article in American Economic Association, Proceedings 1901, p. 235-73.

Thach and others. American Economic Association Proceedings 1903, p. 49-162.

United States Dep't of Labor, Bulletins on Negroes.

- 1 Antebellum system; slave labor, white labor.
- 2 Break-up of old system; Freedmen's Bureau regulations.
- 3 Evolution of "share" system; credit and crop lien.
- 4 Negro farmer and white farmer.
 Negro farmer on fertile soils.
 White farmer on poor soils.
 Careful cultivation by latter who produce more on poor soil than negro on rich lands.
 Progress in white counties.
 Failure in black belt. Ebb and flow of negro laborers.
- 5 Whites monopolize other industries. Negro losing industries formerly his own.
 Negroes not successful in factories etc.
- 6 Incoming of northern and foreign whites.
- 7 Economic conditions in black belt; segregation of negroes. "Moving" from plantation to plantation.
- 8 Servant problem. Increasing number of white servants, specially in hotels.

Race problems

Baker. Lynching, McClure's Magazine, Jan. and Feb. 1905.

Cutler. Lynch Law.

Montgomery Conference. Race Problems.

- 1 Race problem always present.
 Social, political, religious, educational, industrial.
- 2 Effect of constant drawing of race line.

- 3 Effect of outside interference.
- 4 Insecure position of whites in certain localities; lynching.

Nullification and disfranchisement

- 1 Effects of evasion of amendments.
- 2 Some complications caused by disfranchisement.
- 3 Whites disfranchised. Narrow suffrage.
- 4 Small vote in elections. Primaries.

Economic wreck of South

- 1 Delay in development.
- 2 Effect on habit of public spending.

Federal administration in the South

Nelson. Three Months of Roosevelt, Atlantic Monthly, Feb. 1902.

- 1 Character of officials.
- 2 Hostility to negro officials.
Crum and Indianola cases; peculiar campaign pictures circulated among the negroes.
- 3 Whites consider administration hostile.
- 4 Provincial government.
- 5 How the people consider the federal government.
- 6 Conditions change for the better under Cleveland, McKinley, and Roosevelt.

Topics for papers

- 1 The Tuskegee plan of education. Armstrong and Washington as educators of negroes.
- 2 Why is the public school a heavier burden upon the taxpayers in the South than in the North or West?
- 3 How are the races distributed in a state like Georgia or Alabama? [*See* census maps of population].
- 4 Why is the white farmer located on poor soil and the black one on fertile soil?

- 5 Which profited most by emancipation, the whites or the blacks?
- 6 Is free negro labor more or less efficient than slave labor? [*See* Smith's bulletin, census of 1880].
- 7 How has the Federal administration been conducted in the South? [Nelson in *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 1902].

APPENDIX: ORIGINAL MATERIAL

for the study of

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SECEDED STATES

Conditions in the South after the Civil War

- 1 Truman on temper of the South.
- 2 Truman on negro question.
- 3 General Grant to the President.
- 4 Chaplain Buckley on destitution.
- 5 Pike on the ruin of the slaveholders.
- 6 Increasing death rate of the blacks.
- 7 Condition of the blacks (Sanford).

Truman on temper of the South

. . . I distinguish between loyalty and patriotism; and I believe the distinction not ill grounded. That glorious spontaneous burst of popular enthusiasm with which the North responded as one man to the echoing thunders of Sumter was the most sublime exhibition of patriotism the world has yet witnessed; the quietness, and even cheerfulness, with which the same people once yielded obedience to the rule of James Buchanan, whose administration they hated and despised, was an instance of loyalty, such as only American citizens could have furnished.

The North never rebelled against James Buchanan, nor seriously proposed to; but I assert without hesitation, that, now the war has swept over the South, there is no more disposition in that section of the country to rebel against the national government than there was in the North at the time above referred to.

If any general assertion can be made that will apply to the masses of the people of the South, it is that they are at the present time indifferent toward the general government. For four years of eventful life as a nation, they

were accustomed to speak of and regard "our government" as the one which had its seat in Richmond; and thousands who at first looked upon that government with great suspicion and distrust, gradually, from the mere lapse of time and the force of example, came to admit it into their ideas as their government. The great body of the people in any country always move slowly; the transfer of allegiance from one *de facto* government to another is not effected in a day, whatever oaths of loyalty may be taken; and I have witnessed many amusing instances of mistakes on the part of those of whose attachments to the government there could be no question. Ignorance and prejudice always lag furthest behind any radical change, and no person can forget that the violent changes of the past few years have left the ideas of the populace greatly unsettled and increased their indifference. Fully one half of the southern people never cherished an educated and active attachment to any government that was over them, and the war has left them very much as it found them.

The rank and file of the disbanded southern army—those who remained in it to the end—are the backbone and sinew of the South. Long before the surrender, corps, divisions, brigades, and regiments had been thoroughly purged of the worthless class—the skulkers—those of whom the South, as well as any other country, would be best rid; and these it is that are now prolonging past bitternesses. These are they, in great part, as I abundantly learned by personal observation, that are now editing reckless newspapers, and that put forth those pernicious utterances that so little represent the thinking, substantial people, and are so eagerly seized out and paraded by certain northern journalists, who themselves as little represent the great North. To the disbanded regiments of the rebel army, both officers and men, I look with great confidence as the best and altogether most hopeful element of the South, the real basis of reconstruction and the material of worthy citizenship. On a thousand battlefields they have tested the invincible power of that government they vainly sought to over-

throw, and along a thousand picket lines, and under the friendly flag of truce, they have learned that the soldiers of the Union bore them no hatred, and shared with them the common attributes of humanity. Around the returned soldier of the South gathers the same circle of admiring friends that we see around the millions of hearthstones in our own section, and from him they are slowly learning the lesson of charity and of brotherhood. I know of very few more potent influences at work in promoting real and lasting reconciliation and reconstruction than the influence of the returned Southern soldier. *Report of B. C. Truman to the President, Ap. 9, 1866, in Sen. Ex. Doc. no. 43, 39th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 2*

Truman on the negro question

. . . As to the personal treatment received by the negro at the hands of the southern people there is widespread misapprehension. It is not his former master, as a general thing, that is his worst enemy, but quite the contrary. I have talked earnestly with hundreds of old slave owners, and seen them move among their former "chattels," and I am not mistaken. The feeling with which a very large majority of them regard the negro is one of genuine commiseration, although it is not a sentiment much elevated above that with which they would look upon a suffering animal for which they have formed an attachment. Last summer the negroes, exulting in their new found freedom, as was to have been expected, were gay, thoughtless and improvident; and, as a consequence, when the winter came hundreds of them felt the pinchings of want, and many perished. The old planters have often pointed out to me numerous instances of calamity that had come under their own observation in the case of their former slaves and others. . .

It is the former slave owners who are the best friends the negro has in the South—those who, heretofore, have provided for his mere physical comfort, generally with sufficient means, though entirely neglecting

his better nature, while it is the "poor whites" that are his enemies. It is from these he suffers most. In a state of slavery they hated him; and now that he is free, there is no striking abatement of this sentiment, and the former master no longer feels called by the instinct of interest to extend that protection that he once did. On the streets, by the roadside, in his wretched hut, in the field of labor—everywhere, the inoffensive negro is exposed to their petty and contemptible persecutions; while, on the other hand, I have known instances where the respectable, substantial people of a community have united together to keep guard over a house in which the negroes were taking their amusements, and from which, a few nights before, they had been rudely driven by vagabonds, who found pleasure in their fright and suffering. I reiterate, that the former owners, as a class, are the negroes' best friends in the South, although many of this class diligently strive to discourage the freedmen from any earnest efforts to promote their higher welfare. When one believes that a certain race of beings are incapable of advancement, he is very prone to withhold the means of that advancement. And it is in this form that a species of slavery will longest be perpetuated—it is in these strongholds that it will last die out. I am pretty sure that there is not a single negro in the whole South who is not receiving pay for his labor according to his own contract; but, as a general thing, the freedmen are encouraged to collect about the old mansion in their little quarters, labor for their former masters for set terms, receiving, besides their pay, food, quarters, and medical attendance, and thus continuing on in their former state of dependence. The cruelties of slavery, and all its outward forms, have entirely passed away; but, as might have been expected, glimmerings of its vassalage, its subserviency and its helplessness, linger.

It is the result of my observation also, not only that the planters, generally, are far better friends to the negro than the poor whites, but also better than a majority of northern men who go south to rent plantations—at least, they show more patience in dealing with him. The

northerner is practical, energetic, economical, and thrifty—the negro is slow, awkward, wasteful, and slovenly; he causes his new employer to lose his patience, and to seize hold and attempt to perform, himself, what he sees so badly executed. The southerner is accustomed to the ways of slaves from his youth up; hence he is languidly and goodnatureedly indifferent; or, at most, vents his displeasures in empty fuming. The northern employer is accustomed to see laborers who are vigorous and industrious; he knows the extent of a full day's labor, and he expects all to perform the amount; the southern man has always been compelled to employ two or three to do the work of one, and is more indulgent. It is the almost universal testimony of the negroes themselves, who have been under the supervision of both classes—and I have talked with many with a view to this point—that they prefer to labor for a southern employer. This is not by any means to be construed to mean that they desire to return to slavery—not by any consideration, for the thought of freedom is dearer to their hearts than to any other people of like intelligence in the world; but that, being once assured of their liberty to go and come at will, they generally return to the service of the southerner. *Report of B. C. Truman to the President, Ap. 9, 1866, in Sen. Ex. Doc. no. 43, 39th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 9*

General Grant to the President

I am satisfied that the mass of thinking men of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith. The questions which have heretofore divided the sentiment of the people of the two sections—slavery and state rights, or the right of a state to secede from the Union—they regard as having been settled forever by the highest tribunal—arms—that man can resort to. I was pleased to learn from the leading men whom I met that they not only accepted the decision arrived at as final, but now that the smoke of battle has cleared away and time has been given for reflection, that this decision has been a fortunate one for the whole country, they receiving like benefits from it with those who opposed them in the field and in council.

Four years of war, during which law was executed only at the point of the bayonet throughout the states in rebellion, have left the people possibly in a condition not to yield that ready obedience to civil authority the American people have generally been in the habit of yielding. This would render the presence of small garrisons throughout those states necessary until such time as labor returns to its proper channel, and civil authority is fully established. I did not meet any one, either those holding places under the government or citizens of the Southern States, who think it practicable to withdraw the military from the South at present. The white and the black mutually require the protection of the general government.

There is such universal acquiescence in the authority of the general government throughout the portions of country visited by me, that the mere presence of a military force, without regard to numbers, is sufficient to maintain order. The good of the country, and economy, require that the force kept in the interior, where there are many freedmen, (elsewhere in the Southern States than at forts upon the seacoast no force is necessary,) should all be white troops. The reasons for this are obvious without mentioning many of them. The presence of black troops, lately slaves, demoralizes labor, both by their advice and by furnishing in their camps a resort for the freedmen for long distances around. White troops generally excite no opposition, and therefore a small number of them can maintain order in a given district. Colored troops must be kept in bodies sufficient to defend themselves. It is not the thinking men who would use violence toward any class of troops sent among them by the general government, but the ignorant in some places might; and the late slave seems to be imbued with the idea that the property of his late master should, by right, belong to him, or at least should have no protection from the colored soldier. There is danger of collision being brought on by such causes.

My observations lead me to the conclusion that the citizens of the Southern States are anxious to return to self-government, within the Union, as soon as possible; that whilst reconstructing they want and require protection from the government; that they are in earnest in

wishing to do what they think is required by the government, not humiliating to them as citizens, and that if such a course were pointed out they would pursue it in good faith. It is to be regretted that there can not be a greater commingling, at this time, between the citizens of the two sections, and particularly of those intrusted with the lawmaking power. *Extract from General Grant's letter concerning affairs at the South, Dec. 18, 1865, to President Johnson, Sen. Ex. Doc. no. 2, 39th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 106*

Chaplain Buckley on destitution

. . . There are but a few freedmen at this place—about 60, who are dependent upon the government for support. They are quite comfortably provided for. By far the greater suffering exists among the whites. Their scanty supplies have been exhausted, and now they look to government alone for support. Some are without homes of any description. This seems strange, and almost unaccountable. Yet, on one road leading to Talladega I visited four families, within 15 minutes ride of town, who were living in the woods, with no shelter but pine boughs, and this in midwinter. Captain Dean, who accompanied me, assured me that upon the other roads leading into town were other families similarly situated. These people have no homes. They were widows, with large families of small children. Other families, as their provisions fail, will wander in for supplies, and I am fearful the result will be a camp of widows and orphans. If possible, it should be prevented; and yet I saw about 30 persons for whom shelter must be provided, or death will speedily follow their present exposure and suffering. . . *Report of Chaplain C. W. Buckley, of the Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama, Jan. 16, 1866, in Sen. Ex. Doc. no. 27, 39th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 77*

Pike on the ruin of the slaveholders

But usually the great catastrophe was not foreseen. Everything went into Confederate securities; everything to eat and everything to wear was consumed, and when the war suddenly ended there was nothing left but

poverty and nakedness. Famine followed, and suffering beyond computation, the story of which has never been told. Rich planters' families subsisted on corn bread when they could get it, but often they could not, and then they resorted to a coarse cattle fodder known as "cow peas". It is reported of the poet Timrod, who contributed his fiery lyrics in aid of the rebellion—all that he had to give—that he and his were saved from actual starvation, when they were at their last gasp, just previous to his death. Others fared not so well.

There were numerous large slaveholders and property-owners in and about Columbia who went down in the general ruin. Some were immensely wealthy; there were several families owning 500 and 1000 slaves apiece. Many were proprietors of plantations on the banks of the Mississippi. These plantations were more or less mortgaged. When slavery went; the mortgages consumed the rest; and men enjoying an income of \$100,000 a year on the opening of the war were stripped of their last cent at its close. An elderly gentleman of nearly 80 years, formerly a rich man, and president of a bank of about \$1,000,000 capital, was able by great exertion to save his dwelling from the conflagration in Columbia. It was all he preserved from the wreck of his fortunes. Happily he was a lover of flowers, and had a large greenhouse in his gardens. In his stripped condition, he resorted to it for support; and today he lives by personally growing flowers for sale, which he does with a cheerful assiduity that gilds his misfortunes, and lends even a pleasing glow to the evening of his life. Old Wade Hampton, of Revolutionary memory, who won his spurs at the battle of Eutaw Springs, and was an aide-de-camp of General Washington, was a resident of Columbia and owned large vast estates. He and his family were the grandees of their county for all these subsequent generations. They numbered their slaves by the thousand when the war began, and had large plantations in other states. The family is now broken and scattered. The great old family mansion and extensive grounds filled with rare exotics, the abode of luxurious hospitality for 70 years, has, since the war, been haunted by ghosts, and now, dilapidated and falling into decay, passes into the hands of strangers. In the vicinity lived a gentleman whose income when the war

broke out, was rated at \$150,000 a year. He was not only a victim to the general ruin, but peculiar circumstances added to his misfortunes. Not a vestige of his whole vast property of millions remains today. Not far distant were the estates of a large proprietor and a well known family, rich and distinguished for generations. The slaves are gone. The family is gone. A single scion of the house remains, and he peddles tea by the pound, and molasses by the quart, on a corner of the old homestead, to the former slaves of the family, and thereby earns his livelihood. *Pike, Prostrate State, p. 117-19*

Increasing death rate of the blacks

By the late mortuary returns it appears that during the year 1865 there were in the city cemeteries 1618 interments; 614 whites and 1004 blacks. In 1864 the white burials were 636, blacks 293, thus showing that during the last year the mortality among the blacks has increased over the 12 months previous very near 400% and whereas the white deaths were about two to one of the blacks, that proportion has now been reversed . . . *Correspondence of the National Intelligencer, Jan. 1866, from Augusta Ga. in Sen. Ex. Doc. no. 27, 39th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 99*

Condition of the blacks in 1866

Emancipation is a fact. I have sworn to support it, and I shall keep my oath. Sambo is a free man by force of presidential proclamation. But it is not unlawful to see certain evils of emancipation which call for the active interposition of the philanthropists. Sambo will flog his child unmercifully, and Sally will neglect it in sickness, and so between paternal action and maternal nonaction little Cuffy has a "hard road to travel" for 21 years of his infancy—a terrible preparatory training for the bliss of being "free to starve."

The stupendous wrong and folly consists in taking a poor, ignorant, childlike race from under the fostering care of a patriarchal government and withdrawing from it the protection of interest. . . .

. . . The Christmas holidays here are cold, rainy, cheerless. The heart of the South is beginning to sink in despair. The streets are full of negroes, who refuse to

make contracts to labor the next year. The short crop of 1866 causes much dissatisfaction. They will not engage to work for anything but wages, and few are able to pay wages. They are penniless but resolute in their demands. They expect to see the land all divided out equally between them and their old masters, in time to make the next crop. One of the most intelligent black men I know told me this day that in a neighboring village where several hundred negroes were congregated, he does not think that as many as three made contracts, although the planters are urgent in their solicitations, and offering the highest prices for labor they can possibly afford to pay. The same man informed me that the impression widely prevails that Congress is about to divide out the lands, and that this impression is given out by Federal soldiers at the nearest military station. It cannot be disguised that in spite of the most earnest efforts of their old master to conciliate and satisfy them, the estrangement between the races increases in its extent and bitterness. Nearly all the negro men are armed with repeaters and many of them carry them openly, day and night. The status is most unsatisfactory, and really full of just apprehensions of the direst results. The negro children are growing up in ignorance and vice. The older ones, men and women, abandon themselves to dissipation of the lowest sort. Their schools, "so called," are simply a farce. *Letter of W. F. Samford quoted by George Petrie in Transactions of Ala. Hist. Soc. v. 4*

Freedmen's Bureau

- 1 General Grant to President Johnson.
- 2 Statement of Chaplain Conway.
- 3 Governor Patton's address.
- 3 Testimony of John T. Pierce.
- 4 Testimony of Sayre.
- 5 Testimony of General Wright.
- 6 Printed on cover of Freedmen's Savings Bank Book.

Report of General Grant to President Johnson

I did not give the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau that attention I would have done if more time had been at

my disposal. Conversations on the subject, however, with officers connected with the bureau lead me to think that in some of the states its affairs have not been conducted with good judgment or economy, and that the belief, widely spread among the freedmen of the Southern States, that the lands of their former owners will, at least in part, be divided among them, has come from the agents of this bureau. This belief is seriously interfering with the willingness of the freedmen to make contracts for the coming year. In some form the Freedmen's Bureau is an absolute necessity until civil law is established and enforced, securing to the freedmen their rights and full protection. At present, however, it is independent of the military establishment of the country, and seems to be operated by the different agents of the bureau according to their individual notions. Everywhere General Howard, the able head of the bureau, made friends by the just and fair instructions and advice he gave; but the complaint in South Carolina was, that when he left things went on as before. Many, perhaps a majority, of the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau advise the freedmen that by their own industry they must expect to live. To this end they endeavor to secure employment for them, and to see that both contracting parties comply with their engagements. In some instances, I am sorry to say, the freedman's mind does not seem to be disabused of the idea that a freedman has the right to live without care or provision for the future. The effect of the belief in division of lands is idleness and accumulation in camps, towns and cities. In such cases I think it will be found that vice and disease will tend to the extermination, or great reduction of the colored race. It can not be expected that the opinions held by men at the South for years can be changed in a day; and therefore the freedmen require for a few years not only laws to protect them, but the fostering care of those who will give them good counsel, and on whom they can rely.

The Freedmen's Bureau, being separated from the military establishment of the country, requires all the expense of a separate organization. One does not necessarily know what the other is doing, or what orders they are acting under. It seems to me this could be corrected by regarding every officer on duty with troops in the South-

ern States as agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and then have all orders from the head of the bureau sent through department commanders. This would create a responsibility that would secure uniformity of action throughout all the South; would insure the orders and instructions from the head of the bureau being carried out; and would relieve from duty and pay a large number of employees of the government. *Sen Ex. Doc. no. 2, 39th Cong. 1st Sess.; McPherson, History of Reconstruction, p. 68*

Testimony of Chaplain T. W. Conway, ex-Assistant Commissioner for Louisiana

I should expect in Louisiana, as in the whole southern country, that the withdrawal of the Freedmen's Bureau would be followed by a condition of anarchy and bloodshed, and I say that much in the light of as large an experience upon the subject as any man in the country. I have been in the army since the 19th of April 1861; I have been over the whole country, almost from Baltimore to the Gulf. I was one of the first who held any official position in regard to the freedmen, and I am pained at the conviction I have in my own mind that if the Freedmen's Bureau is withdrawn the result will be fearful in the extreme. What it has already done and is now doing in shielding these people, only incites the bitterness of their foes. They will be murdered by wholesale, and they in their turn will defend themselves. It will not be persecution merely; it will be slaughter; and I doubt whether the world has ever known the like. These southern rebels, when the power is once in their hands, will stop at nothing short of extermination. Governor Wells himself told me that he expected in 10 years to see the whole colored race exterminated, and that conviction is shared very largely among the white people of the South. It has been threatened by leading men there that they would exterminate the freedmen. They have said so in my hearing. In reply I said that they could not drive the freedmen out of the nation, because, in the first place, they would not go; and for another reason, that they had no authority to drive them out; and for a third reason, that they were wanted in the South as laborers. To that

they replied, that, if necessary, they would get their laborers from Europe; that white laborers would be more agreeable to them; that the negro must be gotten rid of in some way, and that, too, as speedily as possible. I have heard it so many times, and from so many different quarters, that I believe it is a fixed determination, and that they are looking anxiously to the extermination of the whole negro race from the country. There is an agent here now, with letters from the governor of Louisiana to parties in New York, with a view of entering at once upon negotiations to secure laborers from various parts of Europe. There are other parties endeavoring to get coolies into the South, and in various places there are immense efforts to obtain white labor to supplant that of the negro. It is a part of the immense and desperate programme which they have adopted and expect to carry out within the next 10 years. It is the same determination to which I referred in my report. I said the negro race would be exterminated unless protected by the strong arm of the government; no weak arm will do. The strongest arm of the government is needed to shield them. The wicked work has already commenced, and it could be shown that the policy pursued by the government is construed by the rebels as not being opposed to it. *Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction (1866), pt 4, p. 82*

Governor Patton's address to the people of Alabama

We all know of the great destitution in our state which followed the close of the war. The crop of 1865, from well known causes, was lamentably short, and this naturally prolonged the destitution through the year 1866. There was so much suffering that it became a matter of absolute necessity to adopt some plan of relief. It is but simple justice to say that in our extreme destitution we found most timely relief at the hands of the general government. In the course of the years 1866 and 1867 supplies were furnished from that source to the value of more than a million of dollars. In addition to this relief, large and generous donations in money and provisions were made

by individuals and charitable associations. These donations were placed at the disposal of the governor, and distributed according to his best discretion. *Kuklux Rep't*, p. 216

Testimony of John G. Pierce

I can tell you from what I know and have seen myself, and also from what negroes have told me, that they have been promised lands and mules—40 acres of land and a mule . . . Many an old negro has come to me and asked me about that thing. I can illustrate it by one little thing that I saw on a visit once to Gainesville, Sumter co. At a barbecue there I saw a man who was making a speech to the negroes, telling them what good he had done for them; that he had been to Washington city and had procured from one of the departments here certain pegs. I saw the pegs. He had about two dozen on his arm; they were painted red and blue. He said that those pegs he had obtained from here at a great expense to himself; that they had been made by the government for the purpose of staking out the negroes 40 acres. He told the negroes that all he wanted was to have the expenses paid to him, which was about a dollar a peg. He told them that they could stick one peg down at a corner, then walk so far one way and stick another down, then walk so far another way and stick another down, till they had got the four pegs down; and that, when the four pegs were down, the negroes' 40 acres would be included in that area; and all he had to say to them was, that they could stick those pegs anywhere they pleased—on anybody's land they wanted to, but not to interfere with each other; and he would advise them, in selecting the 40 acres, to take half woodland and half clear; that nobody would dare to interfere with those pegs. *Kuklux Rep't*, *Alabama Testimony*, p. 314

Testimony of Mr Sayre

When the agents first came there, after the occupation of the country by General Smith's army . . . they established a Freedman's Bureau. They notified

everybody that they must employ their freedmen, and that all their contracts must be submitted to the inspection of the Freedmen's Bureau; that no man would be allowed to employ freedmen unless their contracts were submitted to and approved by that bureau . . . they listened to every sort of tale that any dissatisfied negro might choose to tell; they would send out and arrest white men, bring them in under guard, try them, and put them in jail. They got hold of plantations . . . what they call refuges for freedmen. It was announced that if the freedmen got dissatisfied they could enter there, and be fed and clothed, and taken care of. In that way a large number of negroes were enticed away from plantations where they had been living, and they flocked to these places. Hundreds of them died from neglect. The impression was produced upon the negro that the white man who had been his master was his enemy, and that these men were his peculiar friends; that they had nothing to expect from and through their old masters. They then commenced the establishment of these Loyal Leagues, into which they got almost every negro in the country. They would send their agents . . . from plantation to plantation, until I expect there was hardly a negro in the whole country who did not belong to the league. In that way a want of confidence was produced between the negro and the white man, and a feeling of confidence between the negro and the agents of this bureau. It has been a very troublesome thing to counteract that; but it has been so far counteracted now that the negro has confidence in the white man in everything but politics; I do not think he has much confidence in the white man about politics yet, but I think that feeling is done away with to a great extent. They would tell all sorts of tales before elections; they would send regular orders to the league members on the plantations to go and vote. I have been told that order extended to negroes from 15 years and upwards. Negroes themselves have told me that they voted the Republican ticket for the reason that they were informed by those men that, if they did not do it, they would be put back into slavery, and their wives made

to work on the road. It had such an effect that a gentleman in Montgomery told me that some of his own former slaves came back to him after the election and said, "Well, massa, what house must I go into? I understand that the Democrats have succeeded, and that we are slaves again." *Kuklux Rep't, Alabama Testimony*, p. 357

Testimony of General Wright of Augusta

[The negroes] were taken possession of by a class of men who went down there connected in some way with the Freedmen's Bureau; they swarmed all over the country. The white people were sore, intensely sore, at the results of the war, at losing their slaves, and they shrank back and had nothing to say to the negroes. That course of conduct on their part enabled these men to go on and obtain the confidence of the negroes; they made the negroes believe that unless they banded themselves together and stood up for their rights, the white people would put them back into slavery. But the reign of that class of people in our state is over—past and gone. These men came there and fastened themselves upon every community, and when the election for members of the Legislature came on they were themselves elected. I can give you an instance right there, within a stone's throw of where I live, of a man by the name of Captain Richardson, who went down there in the bureau. He lived in Augusta, and was elected a member of the Legislature from the county of Hancock, way up in the interior of the state; he perhaps never was in that county in his life. There was a man by the name of J. Mason Rice, who came out in the bureau, and lived in Augusta; he was elected a representative of the county of Columbia. A man of the name of Sherman came down there, not in the bureau, but as a developer. He bought a piece of land near Augusta, and worked it for a while, and then had to give it up. He ran for the place of senator in the district composed of Wilkes, Jackson and Columbia. Wilkes is the county in which Toombs lives. This man ran for senator, and was elected there. There was Rice,

elected as a member from Columbia county, and never was in it; Richardson was elected as a member from Hancock county, and he never was in that county; and Sherman was elected as senator from Wilkes, Lincoln and Columbia counties, and so far as I know, he has never been in either one of them. A man by the name of Claiborn, a Baltimore negro, came down to Augusta with the bureau, and was elected a member of the Legislature from Burke county. He served until a few months before the close of the Legislature, when he was killed by a negro in the capital.

Question. Does your law require the representative to live in the county he claims to represent?

Answer. Yes, sir; but the Republicans had a majority there, and they permitted any one to take his seat who had the returns; and when they really did not get a majority of the votes, Mr Hulburt, who was the head man of the registration, fixed up the votes, cooked them up for them, and they were admitted. We were entirely powerless there. Up to the latter part of 1868 the negroes believed that by voting they were going to get a division of the land and stock of the country. These carpetbaggers would go down there and actually sell stakes to them. That is almost too improbable for belief; but these rascals would go down there and sell painted stakes to these negroes, and tell them that all they had to do was to put down the stakes on their owner's farms, and 40 acres of land would be theirs after election. You could see them all over the country. The negroes said they gave a dollar apiece for those stakes. They were very ignorant, or they would not have believed such things; but they did believe it, and, I have no doubt, implicitly. *Kuklux Rep't, Georgia Testimony, p. 272*

Printed on the cover of the Freedmen's Savings Bank book

"I consider the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company to be greatly needed by the colored people, and have welcomed it as an auxiliary to the Freedmen's Bureau."
Maj. Gen. O. O. Howard

'Tis little by little the bee fills her cell;
 And little by little a man sinks a well;
 'Tis little by little a bird builds her nest;
 By littles a forest in verdure is drest;
 'Tis little by little great volumes are made;
 By littles a mountain or levels are made;
 'Tis little by little an ocean is filled;
 And little by little a city we build;
 'Tis little by little an ant gets her store;
 Every little we add to a little makes more;
 Step by step we walk miles and we sew stitch by stitch;
 Word by word we read books, cent by cent we grow rich.

This is a *benevolent* institution. All profits go to the depositors, or to educational purposes for the freedmen and their descendants.

The whole institution is under the charter of Congress, and received the commendation and countenance of the President, Abraham Lincoln. One of the last official acts of his valued life was the signing of the bill which gave legal existence to this bank. *House Misc. Doc. no. 16, 43d Cong. 2d Sess. p. 85*

Specimen black laws

- 1 Definition of "persons of color" (Tennessee).
- 2 A Louisiana town ordinance.
- 3 Certain things forbidden to freedmen (in Florida).
- 4 Intermarriage of races prohibited (Alabama).

"Persons of color"

An act to define the term "persons of color," and to declare the rights of such persons. [Passed May 26, 1866]

§ 1 Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the state of Tennessee, that all negroes, mulattoes, mestizoes, and their descendants, having any African blood in their veins, shall be known in this state as "persons of color."

§ 2 . . . persons of color have the right to make and enforce contracts, to sue and be sued, to be parties and give evidence, to inherit and to have full and equal benefits of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and estate, and shall not be subject to any

other or different punishment, pains or penalty for the commission of any act or offense than such as are prescribed for white persons committing like acts or offenses.

§ 3 . . . All persons of color being blind, deaf and dumb, lunatics, paupers or apprentices, shall have the full and perfect benefit and application of all laws regulating and providing for white persons being blind or deaf and dumb or lunatics or paupers, or either (in asylums for their benefit), and apprentices.

§ 4 . . . Provided, that nothing in this act shall be so construed as to admit persons of color to serve on the jury; And provided further, that the provisions of this act shall not be so construed as to require the education of colored and white children in the same school.

§ 5 . . . all free persons of color who were living together as husband and wife in this state, while in a state of slavery, are hereby decided to be man and wife, and their children legitimately entitled to an inheritance in any property herebefore acquired, or that may hereafter be acquired by said parents, to as full an extent as the children of white citizens are now entitled by the existing laws of this state. *Laws of Tennessee (1865-66), p. 65, ch. 40*

Opelousas town ordinance

Ordinance relative to the police of recently emancipated negroes or freedmen within the corporate limits of the town of Opelousas [Louisiana].
[July 3, 1865]

Whereas, the relations formerly subsisting between master and slave have become changed by the action of the controlling authorities; and, whereas, it is necessary to provide for the proper police and government of the recently emancipated negroes or freedmen in their new relations to the municipal authorities:

§ 1 Be it therefore ordained by the board of police of the town of Opelousas, that no negro or freedman shall be allowed to come within the limits of the town of Opelousas without special permission from his employers, specifying the object of his visit and the time necessary for the accomplishment of the same. Who-

ever shall violate this provision shall suffer imprisonment and two days work on the public streets, or shall pay a fine of two dollars and fifty cents.

§ 2 Be it further ordained, that every negro freedman who shall be found on the streets of Opelousas after 10 o'clock at night without a written pass or permit from his employer shall be imprisoned and compelled to work five days on the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars.

§ 3 No negro or freedman shall be permitted to rent or keep a house within the limits of the town under any circumstances, and any one thus offending shall be ejected and compelled to find an employer or leave the town within 24 hours. The lessor or furnisher of the house leased or kept as above shall pay a fine of \$10 for each offense.

§ 4 No negro or freedman shall reside within the limits of the town of Opelousas who is not in the regular service of some white person or former owner, who shall be held responsible for the conduct of said freedman; but said employer or former owner may permit said freedman to hire his time by special permission in writing, which permission shall not extend over 24 hours at any one time. Any one violating the provisions of this section shall be imprisoned and forced to work for two days on the public streets.

§ 5 No public meetings or congregations of negroes or freedmen shall be allowed within the limits of the town of Opelousas under any circumstances or for any purpose without the permission of the mayor or president of the board. This prohibition is not intended, however, to prevent the freedmen from attending the usual church services conducted by established ministers of religion. Every freedman violating this law shall be imprisoned and made to work five days on the public streets.

§ 6 No negro or freedman shall be permitted to preach, exhort, or otherwise declaim to congregations of colored people without a special permission from the mayor or president of the board of police, under the penalty of a fine of \$10 or 20 days work on the public streets.

§ 7 No freedman who is not in the military service

shall be allowed to carry firearms, or any kind of weapons, within the limits of the town of Opelousas without the special permission of his employer, in writing, and approved by the mayor or president of the board of police. Any one thus offending shall forfeit his weapons and shall be imprisoned and made to work for five days on the public streets or pay a fine of five dollars in lieu of said work.

§ 8 No freedman shall sell, barter, or exchange any articles of merchandise or traffic within the limits of Opelousas without permission in writing from his employer or the mayor or president of the board, under the penalty of the forfeiture of said articles and imprisonment and one day's labor, or a fine of one dollar in lieu of said work.

§ 9 Any freedman found drunk within the limits of the town shall be imprisoned and made to labor five days on the public streets or pay five dollars in lieu of said work.

§ 10 Any freedman not residing in Opelousas who shall be found within the corporate limits after the hour of 3 p. m. on Sunday without a special permission from his employer or the mayor shall be arrested and imprisoned and made to work two days on the public streets, or pay two dollars in lieu of said work.

§ 11 All the foregoing provisions apply to freedmen and freedwomen, or both sexes.

§ 12 It shall be the special duty of the mayor or president of the board to see that all the provisions of this ordinance are faithfully executed.

§ 13 Be it further ordained, that this ordinance to take effect from and after its first publication. *Sen. Ex. Doc. no. 2, 39th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 92*

Rights of freedmen limited in Florida

§ 12 . . . it shall not be lawful for any negro, mulatto, or other person of color, to own, use, or keep in his possession, or under his control, any bowie knife, dirk, sword, firearms, or ammunition of any kind, unless he first obtain a license to do so from the judge of probate of the county in which he may be a resident for the time being; and the said judge of probate is hereby authorized to issue such license upon the

recommendation of two respectable citizens of the county, certifying to the peaceful and orderly character of the applicant; and any negro, mulatto, or other person of color so offending, shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall forfeit to the use of the informer all such firearms and ammunition, and, in addition thereto, shall be sentenced to stand in the pillory for one hour, or be whipped, not exceeding 39 stripes, or both, at the discretion of the jury.

§ 14 . . . if any negro, mulatto, or other person of color shall intrude himself into any religious or other public assembly of white persons, or into any railroad car or other public vehicle set apart for the exclusive accommodation of white people, he shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be sentenced to stand in the pillory one hour, or be whipped not exceeding 39 stripes, or both, at the discretion of the jury; nor shall it be lawful for any white person to intrude himself into any religious or other public assembly of colored persons, or into any railroad or other public vehicle set apart for the exclusive accommodation of persons of color, under the same penalties. *Sen. Ex. Doc. no. 6, 39th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 174*

Intermarriage of races forbidden

§ 61 *Marriages between white persons and negroes.* If any white person and any negro, or the descendant of any negro, to the third generation, inclusive, though one ancestor of each generation be a white person, intermarry, or live in adultery or fornication with each other, each of them must, on conviction, be imprisoned in the penitentiary, or sentenced to hard labor for the county, for not less than two, nor more than seven years.

§ 62 *Same;* officer issuing license, or performing marriage ceremony. Any probate judge, who issues a license for the marriage of any persons who are prohibited by the last preceding section from intermarrying, knowing that they are within the provisions of that section; and any justice of the peace, minister of the gospel or other person by law authorized to

solemnize the rights of matrimony, who performs a marriage ceremony for such persons, knowing that they are within the provisions of said section, must each, on conviction, be fined not less than \$100, nor more than \$1000; and may also be imprisoned in the county jail, or sentenced to hard labor for the county, for not less than six months. *Penal code of Alabama (1866)*, p. 31

Union League methods

- 1 Loyal League dialogue.
- 2 Treatment of negro bolters.

Loyal League catechism

The position of the Republican and Democratic parties

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A WHITE REPUBLICAN AND A COLORED CITIZEN,
PUBLISHED BY THE UNION REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,
WASHINGTON D. C.

The following is a dialogue between a newly enfranchised freedman and a sound Radical Republican. The new made voter is seeking light upon the subject of his political duties, and his Radical friend gives him plain facts, and demonstrates clearly with which party he and all like him should act. It would be well for colored voters generally to seek out some tried Radical friend and question him upon all subjects about which they have no doubt. The dialogue is submitted with the hope that the facts set forth therein will remove doubts from the minds of many who have been unable to receive proper information upon the position in which they should stand at this time:

THE DIALOGUE

Question. With what party should the colored man vote?

Answer. The Union Republican party.

Q. Why should the colored man vote with that party?

A. Because that party has made him free and given him the right to vote.

Q. Was Mr Lincoln a Republican?

A. He was a Republican president.

Q. Are all the Republicans in favor of universal freedom?

A. They are.

Q. What is the difference between Radicals and Republicans?

A. There is none. The word Radical was applied to the Republican party by its enemies, and has been accepted by it.

Q. The Radicals and the Republicans are then one and the same party?

A. They are, and they are all in favor of freedom and universal justice.

Q. What is the meaning of the word radical as applied to political parties and politicians?

A. It means one who is in favor of going to the root of things; who is thoroughly in earnest; who desires that slavery should be *abolished*, that every disability connected therewith should be *obliterated*, not only from the national laws but from those of every state in the Union.

Q. Is Mr Sumner a Republican?

A. He is and a Radical, so are Thad. Stevens, Senator Wilson, Judge Kelley, General Butler, Speaker Colfax, Chief Justice Chase, and all other men who favor giving colored men their rights.

Q. To which party do the friends of the colored men in Congress belong?

A. To the Republican party.

Q. What is a Democrat?

A. A member of that party which before the rebellion sustained every legislative act demanded by the slaveholders, such as the fugitive slave law, and the attempt made to force slavery upon the Western Territories.

Q. What was the position of the Democratic party during the war?

A. It opposed the war; declared Mr Lincoln's management of it a failure; resisted every measure in Congress looking to emancipation, and denounced the government for arming colored men as soldiers.

Q. What has that party done since the surrender of the rebels?

A. It has sustained Mr Johnson in his efforts to restore your old masters to power in the country, and opposed every act for your benefit which the Republican Congress has adopted.

Q. Is it known by any other name?

A. It is known as Conservative, Copperhead and rebel. Under each name it is still the same enemy of freedom and the rights of man.

Q. Would the Democrats make slaves of the colored people again if they could?

A. It is fair to presume they would, for they have opposed their freedom by every means in their power, and have always labored to extend slavery.

Q. Would Democrats allow colored men to vote?

A. No! They have always opposed it in Congress and in the various state Legislatures.

Q. Who abolished slavery in the District of Columbia?

A. A Republican Congress and Abraham Lincoln, a Republican president.

Q. Who freed the slaves of the South?

A. Abraham Lincoln, the Republican president, by proclamation.

Q. Who passed the Freedman's Bureau bill?

A. A Republican Congress by more than a two thirds vote over the veto of Andrew Johnson, the leader of the Democratic or Conservative party.

Q. Who gave us the civil rights bill?

A. The same Republican Congress.

Q. What party gave us the right to vote?

A. The Republican party.

Q. What has the Democratic, Conservative or Copperhead party ever done for the colored people?

A. It has tried to keep them in slavery, and opposed giving them the benefit of the Freedman's Bureau and civil rights bills, and the right to vote.

Q. Why can not colored men support the Democratic party?

A. Because that party would disfranchise them, and, if possible, return them to slavery and certainly keep them in an inferior position before the law.

Q. With whom do the disloyal white men of the South desire the colored men to vote?

A. With the Democratic party.

Q. Would not the Democrats take away all the negro's rights?

A. They would.

Q. Then why do they pretend to be the best friends of the colored men?

A. Because they contend that they are fitted only for slavery, or an inferior position, and are happier in either condition.

Q. How would it suit them to be served in the same manner?

A. They would not endure it. They call themselves a superior race of beings, and claim they are born your rulers.

Q. Why do they not do unto others as they would be done by?

A. Because they are devoid of principle, and destitute of all sense of justice where the colored man is concerned.

Q. Do all white people belong to a party which would treat us in that way?

A. They do not. There are many who have stood up nobly for your rights, and who will aid you to the end; indeed, all the Republicans are such.

Q. To what party do the people of the South belong?

A. The larger portion belong to the Democratic party.

Q. Are the slaveholders and the leaders of the rebellion members of that party?

A. They are, and would not regard you as having any right if they were in power.

Q. The colored men should then vote with the Republican or Radical party?

A. They should, and shun the Democratic party as they would the overseer's lash and the auction block.

Q. Has the Republican party ever deceived the colored people?

A. It has not. While the Democratic party has always been opposed to their freedom, their education, and their rights to vote, the Republican party has always been their friend.

Q. To what party do the leading colored men belong?

A. Without exception they belong to the Republican party.

Q. What are the most prominent principles advocated by the Republican party?

A. Equal rights before the law and at the ballot box for all men without regard to race or color; that is, that every man shall have the same rights and liberties as any other man.

Q. Does not the military reconstruction act secure to us these rights?

A. Yes, but you may yet be deprived of them if your enemies get into power.

Q. What would the people think if the colored men voted with the Democratic party?

A. The people of the North would think that they did not fully understand their own rights nor the duties devolving on them; and the people of the South would proudly say, "We have always told you that the negro did not wish to be free."

Q. What use has been made of the money which the colored people of the Southern States have paid as taxes?

A. It has been used to establish schools for *white* children; to pay the expenses of making and executing laws in which the colored men have had no voice, and in endeavoring to have the Supreme Court set aside the law which gives you the right to vote.

Q. What! are the Democrats using my own money to take away my rights?

A. They have always done so, and will continue to while they remain in power.

Q. Can this be right?

A. It can not, but it is what you have always received, and such treatment as you will continue to receive from the Democratic party.

Q. Some people say if we vote against the white of the South it will make them our enemies and we will be destroyed. Is it so?

A. This will not be the case, because they will try to befriend you to secure your vote.

Q. But they say we will be discharged from work if we dare vote the Republican ticket. Will they do that?

A. You should remember that your labor is worth just as much to the man who employs you as his money is to you.

Q. You would advise us then to disregard these threats and vote with the Republican party?

A. Most certainly I would. Had you not rather suffer, or even starve to death, than to aid a party to re-enslave you? Remember your former condition and avoid a return to chains and slavery. "Give me liberty or give me death."

Q. The white people South say the Republicans of the North do not care for the colored men only so far as they can use them to continue in political power. Is that true?

A. It is not.

Q. What is the reason that several of the Northern States do not give us the right to vote?

A. Chiefly because they have in the past been controlled by the Democratic party. In the Western States where what are called the "Black Laws" exist, which forbid colored people to live there, there are large bodies of whites who moved originally from the slave states, and carried the hatred and prejudices of slavery with them.

Q. What has the Republican party done in these states about such laws?

A. Tried to abolish them as fast as it gained power. It publicly advocates their repeal.

Q. Well, I am satisfied. You have clearly shown me my duty, and I shall impart the information to my people.

A. Let me say to you further, that the Democratic party will use all means to get the colored people to put it in power again, but you must remember what has been its past record, and see to it that you do not trust it in the future. In order that you may work to the best advantage for the success of the party which has been and still is your true friend, you should have an organization, or association, where you can bring together your people and such white men as belong

to the Republican party. You want to be so organized that you will act as one man, lest your enemy gain the victory. You should organize Union Leagues and Republican clubs. Here is a constitution for a Union Republican club. You can take this and call together some of your Republican friends, have them sign it, and elect the officers provided therein. Then hold a meeting once in each week, talk these matters over, read newspapers and documents to those who can not read, and take such measures as will result in conveying to every colored man the correct view of his duties at this time. This is the constitution of which I speak: [Then follows a simple constitution for a political club.] *Fleming, Documents relating to Reconstruction, no. 3*

Treatment of negro bolters

Testimony of a negro bolter in Alabama

I visited this county and Bullock, Lee and Chambers counties [making speeches] on the Democratic side—they shot at me and Martin Van Buren [another bolter] twice and we didn't make a speech. Up in Chambers county we were lightly interrupted by five colored men, one by the name of Bryant. We wanted to give him time to speak and relate why he thought it was right to have a colored society and a white society; that a negro man could not keep his wife if he was a Democrat; and young colored women in that society had to take a pledge not to marry a Democratic negro. The president of the society, his name was Treadwell, was an ex-member of the Legislature. The preacher of the church, he stopped the secretary from his office salary because he was a Democrat, and stopped another man from being deacon of the church because he was a Democrat. He put it to a vote and silenced him from his membership—expelled him from the church. I belong to the Baptist church and am not properly treated; I have almost quit going to church on that account. My minister thinks that a negro being a Democrat can not be reality, and ought to be silenced from everything of colored worship. I made a speech—the colored people told me that if

they had their own way they would shoot my head right square off. I was down to Hickory Bend where I taught a school, and Mr Booker Nettles advised the colored people to take their children from a Democratic negro teacher. Asa Barbour, a colored man, did the same and made it a part of his speech. I then had 21 pupils in my school, and the next morning I hadn't but 11 left, and they came and told me the reason they had taken them from me. They just broke up my school.

Testimony of a negro Republican

We don't like to have any communion with them [negro Democrats] at all. As soon as we find one out we don't have him around us. We don't have much to say to them. We pass them and have nothing to do with them because they have left their right place. If he is with the white Democrats here, of course he is against us. A colored man in my estimation can not be a sincere Democrat. This last election the Democrats bought in so many that they broke the Republicans down. They bought a great many with a drink of whiskey.

Testimony of Caesar Shorter, Democrat, formerly a slave of Governor Shorter, of Alabama

They [the blacks] talked about hanging me; they said they would rather hang me than anything else, and I thought once or twice they would get at it. They didn't let me speak. I didn't find but one colored Democrat that day. We toted a double-barrelled shotgun and had to hide. He had to be fastened up in the depot house all the morning because a man who toted a double-barrelled shotgun threatened to kill him. He said (to me) "My friend, you are in a damn bad place." I told him I was in a free country, and I thought my behavior ought to carry me along. He said, "Damn you, you had better keep your eyes open." And when night come I took to my hole, and when the cars come, I got on the cars and they brought me home. *House Report no. 262, 43d Cong., 2d Sess. p. 295, 309, 336*

President Johnson's Cleveland speech (Republican version)

Fellow-citizens: It is not for the purpose of making a speech that I now appear before you. I am aware of the great curiosity which prevails to see strangers who have notoriety and distinction in the country. I know a large number of you desire to see General Grant, and to hear what he has to say. [A voice: "Three cheers for Grant."] But you can not see him tonight. He is extremely ill. I repeat I am not before you now to make a speech, but simply to make your acquaintance—to say how are you and bid you good by. We are on our way to Chicago, to participate in or witness the laying of the corner stone of a monument to the memory of a distinguished fellow-citizen who is now no more. It is not necessary for me to mention the name of Stephen A. Douglas to the people of Ohio. [Applause] I am free to say I am flattered by the demonstrations I have witnessed, and being flattered, I don't mean to think it personal, but as an evidence of what is pervading the public mind, and this demonstration is nothing more nor less than an indication of the latent sentiment or feeling of the great masses of the people with regard to this great question.

I come before you as an American citizen simply, and not as the chief magistrate clothed in the insignia and paraphernalia of state, being an inhabitant of a state in this Union; I know it has been said that I was an alien, [laughter] and that I did not reside in one of the states of the Union, and therefore I could not be the Chief Magistrate, though the Constitution declares that I must be a citizen to occupy that office. Therefore, all that was necessary to depose its occupant was to declare the office vacant, or under a pretext to prefer articles of impeachment. And thus the individual who occupies the chief magistracy was to be disposed of and driven from power.

There was, two years ago, a ticket before you for the presidency. I was placed upon that ticket with a distinguished citizen, now no more. [Voices—"It's a pity"; "Too bad"; "Unfortunate."] Yes, I know there are some who say, "Unfortunate." Yes, un-

fortunate for some that God rules on high and deals in justice. [Cheers] Yes, unfortunate! The ways of Providence are mysterious and incomprehensible, controlling all those who exclaim, "Unfortunate." ["Bully for you."] I was going to say, my countrymen, a short time since I was elected and placed upon the ticket. There was a platform proclaimed and adopted by those who placed me upon it. Notwithstanding a mendacious press; notwithstanding a subsidized gang of hirelings who have not ceased to traduce me, I have discharged all my official duties, and fulfilled my pledges. And I say here tonight that if my predecessor had lived, the vials of wrath would have poured out upon him. [Cries, "Never!" "Never!" and three cheers for the Congress of the United States.] I came here as I was passing along, and having been called upon for the purpose of exchanging views, and ascertaining, if we could, who are wrong. [Cries, "You are!"] That was my object in appearing before you tonight. I want to say that I have lived among the American people, and have represented them in some public capacity for the last 25 years. Where is the man or the woman who can place his finger upon one single act of mine, deviating from any pledges of mine or in violation of the Constitution of the country? [Cheers and cries of "New Orleans!"]

Who is he—what language does he speak—what religion does he profess—that can come and place his finger upon one pledge I ever violated, or one principle I ever proved false to? [Voice, "New Orleans!"] Another, "Why don't you hang Jeff. Davis?" Hang Jeff. Davis? [Shouts and cries of "Down with him!"] Hang Jeff. Davis? [Voice, "Hang Wendell Phillips!"] Why don't you hang him? [Cries of "Give us an opportunity!"] Haven't you got the court? Haven't you got the Attorney General? Who is your Chief Justice, who has refused to sit on his trial? [Groans and cheers] I am not the Chief Justice! I am not the Attorney General! I am no jury! But I'll tell you what I did do. I called upon your Congress, that is trying to break up the government. [Hisses and cries of "A lie!" Great confusion. Voice, "Don't get mad!"] I am not mad. [Hisses] I will

tell you who is mad. "Whom the gods want to destroy they first make mad." Did your Congress order any of them to be tried? [Three cheers for Congress] Then, fellow-citizens, we might as well allay our passion and permit reason to resume her empire and prevail. In presenting the few remarks that I designed to make, my intention was to address myself to your common sense, your judgment, your better feelings, not to the passion and malignancy of your hearts. [Voice, "How about Moses?"] This was my object in presenting myself on this occasion, and to say "how d'ye" and "good by." In the assembly here tonight the remark has been made "traitor!" Traitor, my countrymen! Will you hear me? [Cries, "Yes!"] And will you hear me for my cause and for the Constitution of my country? ["Yes! Yes! Go on!"]

I want to know when or where or under what circumstances Andrew Johnson, not as executive, but in any capacity, ever deserted any principle, or violated the Constitution of this country. [Never! never!] Let me ask this large and intelligent audience if your Secretary of State, who served four years under Mr Lincoln, and who was placed upon the butcher's block as it were and hacked and gashed all to pieces, scarred by the assassin's knife—when he turned traitor? [Cries of "Never!"] If I were disposed to play the orator and deal in declamation, even tonight I would imitate one of the ancient tragedies, and would take Mr Seward, bring him before you, and point you to the hacks and scars upon his person. [Voice, "God bless him!"] I would exhibit the bloody garments saturated with gore from his gaping wounds. Then I would ask you, who is the traitor? [Voice, "Thad. Stevens!"] Why don't you hang Thad. Stevens and Wendell Phillips? [Cheers] I have been fighting traitors in the South. They have been whipped and crushed. They acknowledge their defeat and accept the terms of the Constitution. And now, as I go round the circle, having fought traitors at the South, I am prepared to fight them at the North, [Cheers] God being willing, with your help. [Cries, "We won't give it."] They will be crushed North

and this glorious Union of ours will be preserved. [Cheers] I do not come here as the chief magistrate of 25 states out of 36. [Cheers]

I come here tonight with the flag of my country and the constellation of 36 stars untarnished. Are you for dividing this country? [Cries, "No."] Then I am President, and President of the whole United States. [Cheers] I will tell you another thing. I understand the discordant notes in this crowd tonight. He who is opposed to the restoration of the government and the Union of the states is a greater traitor than Jeff. Davis or Wendell Phillips. [Loud cheers] I am against both of them. [Cries, "Give it to them".] Some of you talk about traitors in the South, who have not courage to go away from your homes to fight them. [Laughter and cheers] The courageous men, Grant, Sherman, Farragut, and the long list of the distinguished sons of the Union, were in the field, and led on their gallant hosts to conquest and to victory, while you remained cowardly at home. [Applause; "Bully."] Now when these brave men have returned home, many of whom have left an arm or a leg or their blood upon many a battlefield, they found you at home speculating and committing frauds upon the government. [Laughter and cheers] You pretend now to have great respect and sympathy for the poor, brave fellow who has left an arm on the battlefield. [Cries, "Is this dignified?"] I understand you. You may talk about the dignity of the President. [Cries, "How was it about his making a speech on the 22d of February?"] I have been with you on the battlefield of this country, and I can tell you furthermore tonight, who have to pay these brave men who shed their blood. You speculated, and now the great mass of the people have got to work it out. [Cheers]

It is time that the great mass of the American people should understand what your designs are. [A voice, "What did General Butler say?"] What did General Butler say? [Hisses] What did Grant say? [Cheers] and what does General Grant say about General Butler? [Laughter and cheers] What does General Sherman say? [A voice, "What does Sheridan say? New Orleans! New Orleans!"] General Sheridan says

that he is for the restoration of the government that General Sheridan fought for. ["Bully."] But, fellow-citizens, let this all pass. I care not for my dignity. There is a certain portion of our countrymen will respect a citizen wherever he is entitled to respect. [A voice, "That's so."] There is another class, that have no respect for themselves, and consequently they cannot respect any one else. [Laughter and cheers] I know a man and a gentleman whenever I meet him. I have only to look in his face; and if I was to see yours by the light of day I do not doubt but that I should see cowardice and treachery written upon it. [Laughter and cheers] Come out here where I can see you. [Cheers] If you ever shoot a man you will do it in the dark, and pull the trigger when no one is by to see. [Cheers] I understand traitors, I have been fighting them at the southern end of the line, and we are now fighting them in the other direction. [Laughter and cheers] I came here neither to criminate nor recriminate, but when attacked, my plan is to defend myself. [Cheers]

When encroached upon, I care not from what quarter it comes, it will meet with resistance. As chief magistrate, I felt, after taking the oath to support the Constitution, and when I saw encroachment upon your constitutional rights, I dared to sound the tocsin of alarm. [Three cheers for Andrew Johnson] Then, if this be right, the head and front of my offending is in telling when the Constitution of our country was trampled upon. Let me say to those who thirst for more blood, who are still willing to sacrifice human life, if you want a victim, and the country requires it, erect your altar and lay me upon it to pour the last libation to human freedom. [Loud applause] I love my country. Every public act of my life testifies that it is so. Where is the man that can put his finger upon any one act of mine that goes to prove to the contrary? And what is my offending? [Voice, "Because you are not a Radical," and cries of "Veto!"] Somebody says "Veto!" Veto of what is called the Freedmen's Bureau bill? I can tell you what it is. Before the rebellion commenced, there were 4,000,000 of slaves and about 340,000 white people living in the South.

These latter paid expenses, bought the lands and cultivated them, and, after the crops were gathered, pocketed the profits. That's the way the thing stood up to the rebellion. The rebellion commenced, the slaves were liberated, and then came up the Freedmen's Bureau bill. This provides for the appointment of agents and subagents in all states, counties, and school districts, who have power to make contracts for the freedmen and to hire them out, and to use the military power to carry them into execution. The cost of this to the people was \$12,000,000 at the beginning. The further expense would be greater, and you are to be taxed for it. That is why I vetoed it. I might refer to the civil rights bill, which is even more atrocious. I tell you, my countrymen, that though the power of hell and Thad. Stevens and his gang were by, they could not turn me from my purpose. There is no power that could turn me except you and the God who spoke me into existence.

In conclusion he said that Congress had taken much pains to poison their constituents against him. But what had Congress done? Have they done anything to restore the Union of these States? No: on the contrary, they had done everything to prevent it; and, because he stood now where he did when the rebellion commenced, he had been denounced as a traitor. Who had run greater risks or made greater sacrifices than himself? But Congress, factious and domineering, had taken to poisoning the minds of the American people. It was with them a question of power. Every friend of theirs who holds an office as assessor, collector, or postmaster, [A voice, "Turn Benedict out!"] wanted to retain his place. Rotation in office used to be thought a good doctrine by Washington, Jefferson, and Adams; and Andrew Jackson, God bless him, thought so. [Applause] This gang of officeholders—these bloodsuckers and cormorants—had got fat on the country. You have got them over your district. Hence you see a system of legislation proposed that these men shall not be turned out; and the President, the only channel through which they can be reached, is called a tyrant. He thought

the time had come when those who had enjoyed fat offices for four years should give way for those who had fought for the country. Hence it was seen why he was assailed and traduced. He had stood by them in the field, and God willing, he would continue to stand by them. He had turned aside from the thread of his remarks to notice the insult sought to be given him. When an insult offered he would resent it in a proper manner. But he was free to say he had no revengeful or resentful feelings. All he wanted when the war was over and peace had come was for patriotic and Christian men to rally round the flag of the country in a fraternal hug, and resolved that all shall perish rather than that the Union shall not be restored. While referring to the question of suffrage, some one in the crowd asked him, "How about Louisiana?" To which he responded, "Let the negroes vote in Ohio before you talk about their voting in Louisiana." [Laughter and cries of "Good!"] "Take the beam out of your own eye before you see the mote in your brother's." [Renewed laughter] In conclusion, after some further remarks, he invoked God's best blessings on his hearers. [Applause] *From the Cleveland Leader, Sep. 4, 1866, quoted in the Impeachment Testimony, 1:325-28*

Impeachment of President Johnson

- 1 Tenth article of impeachment.
- 2 Opinion of Senator Sumner.

Tenth article of impeachment

That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the higher duties of his office, and the dignity and proprieties thereof, and of the harmony and courtesies which ought to exist and be maintained between the executive and legislative branches of the government of the United States, designing and intending to set aside the rightful authority and powers of Congress, did attempt to bring into disgrace, ridicule, hatred, contempt, and reproach the Congress of the United States, and the several branches thereof, to impair and destroy the regard and respect of all the good people of the United States for the Congress and legislative

powers thereof, (which all officers of the government ought inviolably to preserve and maintain,) and to excite the odium and resentment of all the good people of the United States against Congress and the laws by it duly and constitutionally enacted; and in pursuance of his said design and intent, openly and publicly, and before divers assemblages of the citizens of the United States, convened in divers parts thereof to meet and receive said Andrew Johnson as the chief magistrate of the United States, did, on the 18th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1866, and on divers other days and times, as well before as afterward, make and deliver, with a loud voice, certain intemperate, inflammatory, and scandalous harangues, and did therein utter loud threats and bitter menaces, as well against Congress as the laws of the United States duly enacted thereby, and the cries, jeers, and laughter of the multitudes then assembled and in hearing, which are set forth in the several specifications hereinafter written, in substance and effect, that is to say:

Specification first. In this, that at Washington, in the District of Columbia, in the executive mansion, to a committee of citizens who called upon the President of the United States, speaking of and concerning the Congress of the United States, said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, heretofore, to wit, on the 18th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1866, did, in a loud voice, declare, in substance and effect, among other things, that is to say:

“So far as the executive department of the government is concerned, the effort has been made to restore the Union, to heal the breach, to pour oil into the wounds which were consequent upon the struggle, and (to speak in common phrase) to prepare, as the learned and wise physician would, a plaster healing in character and coextensive with the wound. We thought and we think, that we have partially succeeded; but, as the work progresses, as reconstruction seemed to be taking place, and the country was becoming reunited, we found a disturbing and marring element opposing us. In alluding to that element I shall go no further than your convention, and the distinguished gentleman who has delivered to me the report of its proceedings. I shall make no

reference to it that I do not believe the time and occasion justify.

We have witnessed in one department of the government every endeavor to prevent the restoration of peace, harmony and union. We have seen hanging upon the verge of the government, as it were, a body called, or which assumes to be, the Congress of the United States, while, in fact, it is a Congress of only a part of the States. We have seen this Congress pretend to be for the Union, when its every step and act tended to perpetuate disunion and make a disruption of the States inevitable. . . We have seen Congress gradually encroach, step by step, upon constitutional rights, and violate, day after day and month after month, fundamental principles of the government. We have seen a Congress that seemed to forget that there was a limit to the sphere and scope of legislation. We have seen a Congress in a minority assume to exercise power which, allowed to be consummated, would result in despotism or monarchy itself."

Specification second. In this, that at Cleveland, in the State of Ohio, heretofore, to wit, on the 3d day of September, in the year of our Lord 1866, before a public assemblage of citizens and others, said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, speaking of and concerning the Congress of the United States, did, in a loud voice, declare, in substance and effect, among other things, that is to say:

"I will tell you what I did do. I called upon your Congress that is trying to break up the government . . .

In conclusion, besides that, Congress had taken much pains to poison their constituents against him. But what had Congress done? Have they done anything to restore the union of these States? No; on the contrary, they have done everything to prevent it; and because he stood now where he did when the rebellion commenced, he had been denounced as a traitor. Who had run greater risks or made greater sacrifices than himself? But Congress, factious and domineering, had undertaken to poison the minds of the American people."

Specification third. In this, that at St Louis, in the state of Missouri, heretofore, to wit, on the 8th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1866, before a public assemblage of citizens and others, said Andrew Johnson,

President of the United States, speaking of and concerning the Congress of the United States, did, in a loud voice, declare in substance and effect, among other things, that is to say:

“Go on. Perhaps if you had a word or two on the subject of New Orleans you might understand more about it than you do. And if you will go back—if you will go back and ascertain the cause of the riot at New Orleans, perhaps you will not be so prompt in calling out ‘New Orleans.’ If you will take up the riot at New Orleans, and trace it back to its source or immediate cause, you will find out who is responsible for the blood that was shed there. If you will take up the riot of New Orleans and trace it back to the Radical Congress, you will find that the riot at New Orleans was substantially planned. If you will take up the proceedings in their caucuses you will understand that they there knew that a convention was to be called which was extinct by its power having expired; that it was said that the intention was that a new government was to be organized, and on the organization of that government the intention was to enfranchise one portion of the population, called the colored population, who had just been emancipated, and at the same time disfranchise white men. When you design to talk about New Orleans you ought to understand what you are talking about. When you read the speeches that were made, and take up the facts on the Friday and Saturday before that convention sat, you will there find that speeches were made incendiary in their character, exciting that portion of the population, the black population, to arm themselves and prepare for the shedding of blood. You will also find that the convention did assemble in violation of law, and the intention of that convention was to supersede the reorganized authorities in the state government of Louisiana, which had been recognized by the government of the United States; and every man engaged in that rebellion in that convention, with the intention of superseding and upturning the civil government which had been recognized by the government of the United States, I say that he was a traitor to the Constitution of the United States, and hence you find that another rebellion was commenced, *having its origin in the Radical Congress* . . .

So much for the New Orleans riot. And there was the cause and the origin of the blood that was shed, and every drop of blood that was shed is upon their skirts, and they are responsible for it. I could test this thing a little closer, but will not do it here tonight. But when you talk about the causes and consequences that resulted from proceedings of that kind, perhaps, as I have been introduced here, and you have provoked questions of this kind, though it does not provoke me, I will tell you a few wholesome things that have been done by this Radical Congress in connection with New Orleans and the extension of the elective franchise.

I know that I have been traduced and abused. I know it has come in advance of me here as elsewhere, that I have attempted to exercise an arbitrary power in resisting laws that were intended to be forced upon the government; that I had exercised that power; that I had abandoned the party that elected me, and that I was a traitor, because I exercised the veto power in attempting, and did arrest for a time, a bill that was called a Freedmen's Bureau bill; yes, that I was a traitor. And I have been traduced, I have been slandered, I have been maligned, I have been called Judas Iscariot, and all that. Now, my countrymen, here tonight, it is very easy to indulge in epithets; it is easy to call a man Judas and cry out traitor; but when he is called upon to give arguments and facts he is very often found wanting. Judas Iscariot—Judas. There was a Judas, and he was one of the twelve apostles. Oh! yes, the twelve apostles had a Christ. The twelve apostles had a Christ, and he never could have had a Judas unless he had had twelve apostles. If I have played the Judas, who has been my Christ that I have played the Judas with? Was it Thad. Stevens? Was it Wendell Phillips? Was it Charles Sumner? These are the men that stop and compare themselves with the Savior; and everybody that differs with them in opinion, and to try to stay and arrest their diabolical and nefarious policy, is to be denounced as a Judas. . .

Well, let me say to you, if you will stand by me in this action, if you will stand by me in trying to give the people a fair chance—soldiers and citizens—to participate in these offices, God being willing, I will kick them out. I will kick them out just as fast as I can.

Let me say to you, in concluding, that what I have said I intended to say, I was not provoked into this, and I care not for their menaces, the taunts, and the jeers. I care not for threats. I do not intend to be bullied by my enemies nor overawed by my friends. But, God willing, with your help, I will veto their measures when any of them come to me."

Which said utterances, declarations, threats and harangues, highly censurable in any, are peculiarly indecent and unbecoming in the chief magistrate of the United States, by means whereof said Andrew Johnson has brought the high office of the President of the United States into contempt, ridicule, and disgrace, to the great scandal of all good citizens, whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did commit, and was then and there guilty of a high misdemeanor in office. *Impeachment Testimony, 1:8-9*

Opinion of Senator Sumner on impeachment

. . . This is one of the last great battles with slavery. Driven from these legislative chambers, driven from the field of war, this monstrous power has found a refuge in the executive mansion, where, in utter disregard of the Constitution and laws, it seeks to exercise its ancient far-reaching sway. All this is very plain. Nobody can question it. Andrew Johnson is the impersonation of the tyrannical slave power. In him it lives again. He is the lineal successor of John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis; and he gathers about him the same supporters. Original partizans of slavery north and south; habitual compromisers of great principles; maligners of the Declaration of Independence; politicians without heart; lawyers, for whom a technicality is everything, and a promiscuous company who at every stage of the battle have set their faces against equal rights; these are his allies. It is the old troop of slavery, with a few recruits, ready as of old for violence—cunning in device, and heartless in quibble. With the President at their head, they are now entrenched in the executive mansion.

Not to dislodge them is to leave the country a prey to one of the most hateful tyrannies of history. Especially is it to surrender the Unionists of the rebel States to

violence and bloodshed. Not a month, not a week, not a day should be lost. The safety of the Republic requires action at once. The lives of innocent men must be rescued from sacrifice.

I would not in this judgment depart from that moderation which belongs to the occasion; but God forbid that when called to deal with so great an offender, I should affect a coldness which I can not feel. Slavery has become our worst enemy, assailing all, murdering our children, filling our homes with mourning, and darkening the land with tragedy; and now it rears its crest anew, with Andrew Johnson as its representative. Through him it assumes once more to rule the Republic and to impose its cruel law. The enormity of his conduct is aggravated by his barefaced treachery. He once declared himself the Moses of the colored race. Behold him now the Pharaoh! With such treachery in such a cause there can be no parley. Every sentiment, every conviction, every voice against slavery must now be directed against him. Pharaoh is at the bar of the Senate for judgment.

. . . There is nothing of usurpation which he has not attempted. Beginning with an assumption of all power in the rebel states, he has shrunk from nothing in the maintenance of this unparalleled assumption. This is a plain statement of fact. Timid at first, he grew bolder and bolder. He saw too well that his attempt to substitute himself for Congress in the work of reconstruction was sheer usurpation, and therefore, by his Secretary of State, did not hesitate to announce that "it must be distinctly understood that the restoration will be *subject to the decision of Congress*." On two separate occasions, in July and September 1865, he confessed the power of Congress over the subject; but when Congress came together in December, this confessor of congressional power found that he alone had this great prerogative. According to his new fangled theory, Congress had nothing to do but admit the states with the governments which had been instituted through his will alone. It is difficult to measure the vastness of this usurpation, involving as it did a general nullification. Strafford was not bolder, when, speaking for Charles I, he boasted that "the little finger of prerogative was heavier than the

ins of the law"; but these words helped the proud minister to the scaffold. No monarch, no despot, no sultan, could claim more than an American president; or he claimed all. By his edict alone governments were organized, taxes were levied, and even the franchises of the citizen were determined.

Had this assumption of power been incidental, for the exigency of the moment, as under the pressure of war, and especially to serve the cause of human rights, to which before his elevation the President had professed such vociferous devotion, it might have been pardoned. It would have passed into the chapter of unauthorized acts which a patriot people had condoned. But it was the opposite in every particular. Beginning and continuing in usurpation, it was hateful beyond pardon, because it sacrificed the rights of Unionists, white and black, and was in the interest of the rebellion and of those very rebels who had been in arms against their country.

More than one person was appointed provisional governor who could not take the oath of office required by act of Congress. Other persons in the same predicament were appointed in the revenue service. The effect of these appointments was disastrous. They were in the nature of notice to rebels everywhere, that participation in the rebellion was no bar to office. If one of their number could be appointed governor, if another could be appointed to a confidential position in the Treasury Department, then there was nobody on the long list of good who might not look for preferment. And thus all offices from governor to constable were handed over to a disloyal scramble. Rebels crawled forth from their retreats. Men who had hardly ventured to expect their names were now candidates for office, and the rebellion became strong again. The change was felt in all the gradations of government, whether in states, counties, towns or villages. Rebels found themselves in places of trust, while the true-hearted Unionists, who had watched for the coming of our flag and ought to have enjoyed its protecting power, were driven into hiding-places. All this was under the auspices of Andrew Johnson. It was he who animated the wicked crew. He was at the head of the work. Loyalty everywhere was persecuted. White and black, whose only offense was that they had been

true to their country, were insulted, abused, murdered. There was no safety for the loyal man except within the flash of our bayonets. The story is as authentic as hideous. More than two thousand murders have been reported in Texas alone since the surrender of Kirby Smith. In other states there was a similar carnival. Property, person, life, were all in jeopardy. Acts were done "to make a holiday in hell." At New Orleans there was a fearful massacre, which, considering the age and the place, was worse than that of St Bartholomew, which darkens a century of France, or that of Glencoe, which has printed an ineffaceable stain upon one of the greatest reigns of English history. All this is directly traced to Andrew Johnson. The words of bitterness uttered at another time are justified, while Fire, Famine, and Slaughter shriek forth—

He let me loose, and cried Hello!
To him alone the praise is due.

Impeachment of the President, 3:257

Public frauds in South Carolina

- 1 Letter of D. H. Chamberlain.
- 2 Fraudulent expenditures of the South Carolina Legislature.
 - a Woodruff's testimony.
 - b Lewis Grant's testimony.
 - c Public printing.
 - d A specimen bill for drinks.
 - e A specimen bill (furnishings).
 - f Extract from report of committee.

D. H. Chamberlain, Republican, to W. L. Trenholm, Democrat

Columbia S. C. May 5, 1871

. . . I propose to lay aside all partnership, and simply to state facts as I conceive them to exist. Let us look at our state whether the reconstruction acts first took effect in 1868.

A social revolution had been accomplished; an entire reversal of the political relations of most of our people had ensued. The class which formerly held all the political powers of our state were stripped of all.

The class which had formerly been less than citizens, with no political power or social position, were made the sole depositaries of the political powers of the state. I refer now to the practical results, not to the theories. The numerical relations of the two races here were such that one race, under the new laws, held absolute political control of the state.

The attitude and action of both races, under these new conditions, while not unnatural, was, I must think, unwise and unfortunate. One race stood aloft and haughtily refused to seek the confidence of the race which was just entering on its new powers; while the other race quickly grasped all the political power which the new order of things had placed within their reach.

From the nature of the case, the one race was devoid of political experience, of all or nearly all education, and depended mainly for all these qualities upon those who, for the most part, chanced to have drifted here from other states, or who, in very rare instances being former residents of the state, now allied themselves with the other race. No man of common prudence, or who was even slightly familiar with the working of social forces, could have then failed to see that the elements which went to compose the new dominant party were not of the kind which produce public virtue and honor, or which could long secure even public order and peace.

I make all just allowance for exceptional cases of individual character, but I say that the result to be expected, from the very nature of the situation in 1868, was that a scramble for office would ensue among the members of the party in power, which, again, from the nature of the case, must result in filling the offices of the state, local and general, with men of no capacity, and little honesty or desire to really serve the public.

The nation had approved the reconstruction measures, not because they seemed to be free of danger, nor because they were blind to the very grave possibilities of future evils, but in the hope that the one race, wearing its new laurels, and using its new powers with modesty and forbearance, would gradually remove the prejudices and enlist the sympathies and cooperation of the other race, until a fair degree of political homogeneity should be reached, and race lines should cease to mark the limits of political parties.

Three years had passed, and the result is—what? Incompetency, dishonesty, corruption in all its forms, have “advanced their miscreated fronts”; have put to flight the small remnant that opposed them, and now rule the party which rules the state.

You may imagine the chagrin with which I make this statement. Truth alone compels it. My eyes see it—all my senses testify to the startling and sad fact. I can never be indifferent to any thing which touches the fair fame of that great national party to which all my deepest convictions attach me, and I repel the libel which the party bearing that name in this state is daily pouring upon us. I am a Republican by habit, by conviction, by association; but my Republicanism is not, I trust, composed solely of equal parts of ignorance and rapacity. Such is the plain statement of the present condition of the dominant party of our state. . . . *Kuklux Rep't, South Carolina Testimony, p. 1250*

Fraudulent expenditures of the South Carolina Legislature

Josephus Woodruff [formerly Clerk of the Senate], having been duly sworn, further deposes and says:

Under the head of supplies was embraced anything that a senator chose to order. Orders were generally given through the clerk, and the accounts rendered against the Clerk of the Senate. At first these orders were moderate and included only such necessary articles as stationery and postage stamps, but they generally increased until they assumed gigantic proportions. The accounts were rendered and made payable out of the Senate contingent fund. From the commencement of my official career the committee to audit and control the contingent expenses of the Senate always claimed the right to order what they pleased and include in their reports, under the names of “sundries and others,” their personal accounts. The practice became so general as to embrace nearly every Republican and some Democratic senators and the accounts ordered to be paid without inquiring or a dissenting voice. The reports usually read as follows: “The committee on contingent accounts and expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred sundry

contingent accounts against the Senate, or Clerk of the Senate, have considered the same, and recommend that they be paid." They were generally regarded as privileged matters. The Senate rule requiring all reports to lie over one day for consideration was almost always suspended in these cases and the report considered immediately. They were agreed to, the accounts ordered to be paid and indorsed: "Ordered paid. J. W., C. S." Certificates for the various amounts were drawn accordingly. Senators would leave their accounts with the chairman of the committee on contingent accounts, and when personal bills were settled in this way they were returned to senators receipted. The largest bills were rendered for refreshments, including the best liquors and cigars, which were served to senators and their friends in a room next to the office of the Clerk of the Senate. The refreshment room was kept open and was accessible at all times. It was visited daily by state officials, senators and representatives, judges, lawyers, editors and reporters of newspapers and citizens generally, irrespective of party, who discussed matters, state and national, in the most amiable manner over a sparkling glass of champagne or favorite wine or choice cigars. I do not drink or smoke, and at the commencement I stipulated with Mr. Leslie, then chairman of the committee on contingent accounts, that in no event was I as clerk to be held responsible individually for these refreshments. My porter, Louis Grant, was kept in constant attendance on the refreshment room, generally from 12 m., when the Senate met, to 2 and 3 o'clock next morning. This matter, like others, gradually assumed the largest proportions. Orders were given for liquors and cigars, which were sent to the hotels and residences or boarding houses of senators and their friends, and enormous bills rendered accordingly. Of these I usually had no knowledge. But whenever I sent an order of my own for any special occasion outside I paid for them invariably with my own funds. In this way I secured the passage of many charters for citizens of Charleston and elsewhere gratuitously.

In the commencement of this business the members at first gave the merchants of Columbia for goods purchased from them orders to the clerk to deduct the amount from their pay. The orders soon largely exceeded their pay and the accounts were then included in the reports of the committee on contingent accounts to be paid out of the Senate contingent fund. Pay certificates for accounts audited and passed were issued to the merchants for almost every description of merchandise.

During Mr Parker's term of office and part of Mr Cardozo's, up to the time of specific appropriations, certificates for stationery, which included nearly everything, and for other accounts, were issued to such an extent that they were sold on the street at 20 and sometimes as low as 10 and 15 cents on the dollar.

Contingent account certificates for various amounts were frequently drawn to the order of the Clerk of the Senate and turned over to the chairman of the committee on contingent accounts for collection and distribution. As these transactions became common the senators claimed that all their expenses should be paid by the state, or, in the language of Mr Leslie, "the state had no right to be a state unless it could pay and take care of its statesmen." Gratification certificates, issued without any consideration but for the use of senators, also became frequent. But I desire to submit to the committee checks and other papers showing that I endeavored to discharge my duties as correctly as possible under the circumstances.

Testimony of Lewis Grant, porter, in charge of "refreshment room"

A part of my duty was to attend to the refreshment room adjoining the room occupied by the Clerk of the Senate. I generally opened the room at 8 o'clock in the morning and kept it open [until] from 2 to 4 next morning. During that time some one was constantly in the room, eating, drinking or smoking. Senators, members of the House and state officers and judges and editors of influential newspapers were constant

visitors; not an hour in the day, and but few at night, but what some one of them were there drinking and smoking. Many of the senators and members would come to the room before breakfast, hunting a drink or "eye opener." I can not estimate the amount drank on a average every day, but several gallons, with a considerable amount of wine, porter, ale, etc. included. We kept the best article all the time; the senators and members would complain if any but the best of cigars and wines and liquors were furnished them. I remember many times to have had on hand what I considered very good cigars and liquors, but they would complain. I found it hard to keep a sufficient amount of cigars on hand to supply their demands, from the fact that the senators and members on leaving would generally fill one or two of their pockets. I have seen men assembled in barrooms drinking and carousing, but I never saw anything to equal the refreshment room of the Senate for drinking, smoking and talking. Sunday was no exception to the rule. Often, after they would drink heavy, many of them would lie down on the sofas and sleep until next morning. I remember often when the call of the Senate was made that the members would be in the refreshment room drinking. I thought it impossible for men to drink so much whisky and attend to any business. I remember that a large majority of the men who assembled at the room were Republicans, though some Democratic Senators and some few from the House were there. Senator Holcombe and Biemann and Representative Smith were on hand every day, and often two or three times; Senator Wilson also. They also brought their friends to drink with them. The Senate refreshment room was where the members met to talk over the various jobs that were under consideration and make arrangements as to how they would vote on them. When some of them would leave they would put a bottle of champagne in their pockets. The room was kept open and refreshments received from the time I was appointed porter. I occupy the same position now, but since Governor Hampton took charge of the State House *no refreshments have been served; that business has been stopped!*

Cost of public printing: comparative statistics

Session of 1868-69.....	\$21 124 00
“ 1869-70.....	45 000 00
“ 1870-71.....	152 465 00
“ 1871-72.....	173 000 00
“ 1872-73.....	450 000 00
“ 1773-74.....	385 000 00
“ 1874-75.....	50 000 00
“ 1875-76.....	50 000 00

Total cost from 1868 to 1876..... \$1 326 589 00

Total cost from 1790 to 1868..... 609 000 00

Showing an excess of cost for printing during
eight years of Republican administration over
the 78 previous years of..... \$717 589 00

Average cost of printing under Republican ad-
ministration a year..... 165 823 00

Average cost of printing under “old régime”
a year 7 807 00

Cost of printing under Hampton administration
one year 6 178 00

Amounts appropriated session of 1872-73, Re-
publican administration 450 000 00

Total for 25 years, “old régime.” (1840-66)..... 278 251 00

Excess of cost of printing for one year of Re-
publican administration over that of the “old
régime” for 25 years..... 171 749 00

Total for 15 months under Republican adminis-
tration. 835 000 00

Cost of printing for 78 years under “old
régime” 609 000 00

\$226 600 00

Excess of cost of printing under Republican administration for 15 months over that of "old régime" for 78 years, as above.....	\$226 000 00
Cost of printing a month under Republican administration	55 666 00
Cost a month under Hampton administration..	514 80

Specimen bills for legislative "supplies"

[In one session the "supplies" amounted to \$350,000, \$125,000 of which was spent in keeping up the "refreshment room" where officials and their friends were supplied free of cost. This room was kept open for 18 to 20 hours a day for six years. "Refreshments" were also sent to the houses of the members and even to their country homes when the Legislature was not in session.]

Columbia S. C.,

1871

MR JOSEPHUS WOODRUFF (Clerk of Senate).

Bought of GEORGE SYMMERS, Commission merchant

Wholesale and retail dealer in groceries, provisions, wines,
liquors, cigars etc.

Feb. 25	1 case champagne, W. E. H. (Senator W. E. Holeombe, sent to Columbia Hotel).	\$50 00
	1 box cigars, \$10; 2 gallons whisky, \$16, W. E. H. (Senator W. E. Holeombe, sent to Columbia Hotel)	26 00
27	3 dozen ale, \$10.50; 2 dozen porter, \$7.....	17 50
	Discount of draft.....	35 00
	1 gallon best brandy, \$20; 1 gallon best sherry, \$12, for W. E. H. (Senator W. E. Holeombe, Columbia Hotel).....	32 00
	2 boxes cigars, \$12.50—\$25; demijohns, \$1.50, for W. E. H. (Senator W. E. Holeombe, Columbia Hotel)	26 50
28	1 gallon whisky, \$7; 1 box cigars, \$12.50...	19 50
	1 case champagne, \$50; 3 boxes cigars, \$15—\$45	95 00
	2 gallons whisky, \$8—\$16; 1 gallon sherry, \$12 (Senator D. Biemann).....	28 00
	1 gallon brandy, \$20; jug and demijohn, \$2 (Senator D. Biemann).....	22 00
		\$351 50

Columbia S. C., 1870

JOHN WILLIAMS, Sergeant-at-arms,

Bought of J. H. & M. L. KINARD

Wholesale and retail dealers in dry goods, carpetings, oil-cloths, window shades and fancy goods

First door south of Columbia Hotel

1870			
Nov.	26	1 comb and brush.....	\$2 75
	29	½ dozen towels, \$6.....	3 00
		3 L. C. handkerchiefs, 25c—75c, and 3 at 37½c—\$1.13	1 88
		5 yards brown homespun, 10c.....	50
Dec.	1	½ dozen towels, \$6.....	3 00
		4 hair brushes, \$1.....	4 00
		4 dressing combs, 75c.....	3 00
	2	1 bottle extract.....	1 25
		1 bottle cologne.....	2 50
		1 valise	9 00
	5	50 yards cocoa matting, \$1.25.....	62 50
	12	100 yards cocoa matting, \$1.25.....	125 00
	13	3 wood boxes, \$1.....	3 00
	14	1 dozen linen collars.....	3 00
	3	1 pair suspenders.....	75
		1 stereoscope	1 50
		1 portemonnaie	2 00
		Matting, tacks and hammer.....	1 25
		1 skirt, \$5.50; 1 shawl, \$7; 1 set, \$6.....	18 50
		1 set	12 00
	16	1 pair gloves, \$2.50; 2 hairbrushes, \$1—\$2... 2 combs, 75c—\$1.50.....	4 50 1 50
	19	1 job lot soap, \$1.75; 1 boulevard, \$4.50...	6 25
	21	1 pair blankets.....	12 00
Jan.	5	1 pair corsets.....	3 00

 \$287 63

Extract from report of the investigating committee

We feel that this report would be incomplete if we failed to present to the General Assembly the list of articles bought and paid for by the state for the use of her "statesmen." It has been accurately copied from the various accounts turned over to your committee by the Clerks of the Senate and House of Representatives.

REFRESHMENTS, WINES AND LIQUORS

Heidsick champagne, green seal do., vin imperial do., Verzenay do., Moet and Chandon do., scuppernong, sparkling Moselle, Catawba, Chateau la Rose claret, Chateau La Fitte claret, imperial pale sherry, best Madeira, port and malaga wines, blackberry wine, finest otard-du-puy brandy, finest French cognac do., Baker, cabinet, rye, Bourbon, nectar and coin whiskies, Holland gin, Jamaica rum, cases of Hostetter's, Indian, Kerr's, Russian, boker, St Domingo and wine bitters, Congress water, best bottled ale, lager and porter, sarsaparilla, Curacoa, maraschino, ale by the cask.

CIGARS AND TOBACCO

Imported Brevas, Partagas, Espanolas, Espanola Londres, Conchas, Live Indian, Pantillo, Espanola Conchas, finest plug tobacco, finest cut chewing tobacco, Durham and best smoking tobacco.

REFRESHMENTS, GROCERIES AND DELICACIES

Best Westphalia hams, Bologna sausages, bacon strips, diamond hams, Java and Rio coffee, pineapple, Edam, Switzer and English cheese, gilt edge butter, sardines, smoked and canned salmon, smoked beef and buffalo tongues, canned oysters and lobsters, fresh Norfolk oysters, deviled ham, black and green teas, French chocolate, olive oil, catsups Worcester and pepper sauces, imported mushrooms, preserved ginger,

Guava jelly, pickles, brandy cherries and peaches, lemon syrup, assorted extracts, sea foam, citron, assorted nuts, lemons, oranges, wax and adamantine candles, Colgate, fancy and toilet soaps, starch, table and Liverpool salt, kerosene oil, bacon, sides and shoulders, English mustard, vinegar, mackerel, concentrated lye, Orleans and fancy syrups and molasses, assorted English crackers and biscuits, condensed milk, parlor matches, Irish potatoes, leaf lard, assorted pepper, sugar, flour and pearl grist.

FURNITURE

Finest walnut office chairs, office desks, continental chairs, washstands, hat racks, marble top washstands, wardrobes, library tables, marble top sideboards, book cases, hair seat rocking chairs, large and small easy chairs, marble top bureaus, saloon tables, bedsteads, opera chairs, leather seat chairs, cane seat chairs, stuffed back chairs, stuffed back arm chairs, commodes, umbrella stands, large library book cases, small library book cases, oval library tables with carved legs, red rep lounges, green rep lounges, finest plush velvet tete-a-tetes, finest walnut fancy rep tete-a-tetes, large and small Gothic chairs, Prescott arm chairs, extra large striped red Prescott arm chairs, green rep French lounges, large shelf-back marble top washstands, counter desks, hat stands, marble top tables, crimson plush sofas, large looking glasses, superior refrigerators, large willow chairs, towel racks, folding chairs, fine coffin, fine cradle, bed lounges, fancy fire screens extra large and heavy cotton mattresses, extra large and heavy feather beds, extra large and heavy feather bolsters, extra large and heavy feather pillows, double spring mattresses, cot and mattresses, sponge pillows, sponge bolsters, sponge mattresses, gilt mantel mirrors.

FURNISHINGS

Finest English tapestry Brussels carpeting, English body Brussels carpeting, three-ply ingrain carpeting, English velvet rugs, English velvet door mats, Eng-

lish thread door mats, English oilcloths, English velvet hassocks, cocoa mats, cocoa matting, rich heavy cornices, satin delaine curtains, lambrequins, window shades and fixtures, large cords and tassels, gimps, brocatel curtains and trimmings, gold bound shades and spring rollers, white and checked mattings, dry goods, finest French velvets, extra fine large gray hair cloth, silk damask, linen damask tablecloth, linen damask wire cloth, Irish linens, billiard tablecloths, linen towels, woolen blankets, linen d'oylies, linen napkins, imported flannels, imported insertions, imported edgings, finest dress goods—all kinds, honeycomb quilts, Marseilles quilts, shawls, linen sheeting, linen pillow casing, linen shirting, cotton shirting, sheeting, cotton pillow casing, imported kid gloves, ladies' satchels, men's white and brown hosiery, linen cambric handkerchiefs, ladies' hoods, cambrics, ribbons of all qualities, fine plaid goods, extra long bath towels, pieces of crepe, scissors, skirt braids and pins, baize, spool cotton, prints, tooth brushes, hair brushes, heavy combs, flax, buttons, whale-bone, gingham, hooks and eyes, boulevard skirts, bustles, extra long stockings, chignons, palpitators, garters, chemises, under vests, parasols, sun umbrellas.

CLOTHING

In general assortment and variety.

JEWELRY AND FANCY GOODS

Gold watches and chains, rich sets gold jewelry, diamond rings, diamond pins, gold lockets, gold charms, gold finger rings, gold necklaces, gold pencil cases, gold pens, gold breastpins, ivory-handled knives, and forks, pen and pocket knives, tea spoons, table spoons, table forks, call bells, extra fine table castors, rich toilet sets, pocket pistols, Japanned tea trays, cuckoo clocks, extra fine Belgian marble mantel clocks, French china vases, French artificial flowers, ladies' fine work boxes, finest colognes, French extracts, bottles Florida water, gold and rubber pens and holders, pocket books,

stereoscopes and views, writing desks, ladies' portemonnaies, French mantel clocks, key rings, tape measures, feather dusting brushes, plated spoons, baskets, Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, latest and most expensive library works, drop lights, sixty-four light chandeliers, twenty-seven light chandeliers, six light chandeliers, five light chandeliers, four light chandeliers, four light bracket chandeliers, fine cornices with gilt eagles, fine shields with coat of arms.

CROCKERY AND GLASSWARE

Champagne glasses, salt cellars, cup plates, decanters, tumblers, ornamental cuspadores, extra fine punch mugs, fancy granite chamber set, fancy lamps, wash basins, soap boxes and trays, French China coffee cups, French China dinner sets, French China cups and saucers, French China candlesticks, fine glass globes, all sizes, decorated spittoons, decorated tulip toilet sets, decorated tulip oval pitchers, rich cut goblets with monograms.

PRINTING MATTER, ETC.

Warrants of arrest, recognizances, summonses, election tickets, contracts, articles of agreement, lodge circulars, visiting cards, diaries, Morocco memorandum books, perpetual calendars, packages finest initial note paper, reams Juniata paper, scrap books, envelopes, ink, mucilage, wall paper, bordering, lead pencils, ruling pens, paper weights, letter clips, bill files, rubber bands, paper cutters, sponge cups, envelope openers, inkstands, ink vents, slate pencils, rulers, magic ivory, leather and black pencils.

STOCK ETC.

Fine horses, mules, carriages, buggies and harness.

SUNDRIES

Egg coal, cords oak wood, cords light wood, and-irons, fenders, shovel and tongs, grate baskets, stoves,

pipes, coffee biggins, tea pots, sauce pans, cooking stoves and utensils, tin buckets, tin cases, blacking, blacking brushes, jugs, bags, demijohns, lead pipes, lanterns, brooms, fruit jars and elastics, kegs, wash tubs, wash boards, cork screws, slop pails, dusters and dust pans, foot tubs, manila paper, hand saws, files, axes, water coolers, granite chambers, bed pans, coffee mills, axe helves, stove polish. *The South Carolina documents are from Fleming, Documents relating to Reconstruction, nos. 4-5*

The Kuklux movement

- 1 A scalawag's view of the causes of the movement.
- 2 Extracts from the ritual of the Knights of the White Camelia.
- 3 Initiation oaths of the White Brotherhood and the Invisible Empire.
- 4 Extracts from the revised and amended prescript of Kuklux Klan.
- 5 A Kuklux order.
- 6 Principles of the '76 Association.
- 7 A case of Kukluxing.

A scalawag's view of the causes of the Kuklux movement

. . . The 14th amendment . . . made the negroes citizens, effectually changed this whole status of his situation, and . . . aroused all prejudices and hostility of the southern people . . . The third section . . . disqualifying a large class of white men, and many of them the best men in the state, to hold office, while at the time when it was adopted in Alabama negroes were eligible to office, greatly intensified the bitterness, and, in my opinion, in the minds of some who otherwise might have been induced to sustain the government in its reconstruction policy, created such a prejudice that they became indifferent or opposed to it. The reconstruction measures of Congress were regarded by the great body of the white people of the South as usurpations, unconstitutional, and void, and all who sustained them were most bitterly denounced as enemies to the people. These measures, con-

ferring on the negroes the rights of citizens, under these acts even the right to vote in reconstructing the state, met all the prejudice, bitter hostility, and denunciations that could well be entertained by any people, and every prejudice and passion was appealed to to bring them into odium and contempt, and defeat, if possible, their operation . . . When Congress admitted the state of Alabama under this Constitution, they regarded it as a violation of the plighted faith of Congress; and while hostility and opposition to the principles of the newly constructed state were already as strong as human nature was capable of entertaining, this greatly added fuel to the smothered fire of opposition, and it broke out in volcanic flames of denunciation, that appealed to all the prejudices of race, passions of hate, that it was possible to be entertained by a brave and chivalrous people. The whole reconstruction policy was denounced as a tyrannical usurpation, the government as a usurped negro government, and every officer as a mean, tyrannical usurper—a government that placed negroes over and made white men subject to negro rule. This led to a bitterness, to social and business ostracism and proscription, to outrages of person, to whippings, lynchings, murders, and assassinations of persons who favored the government, and especially to negroes who set up to enjoy the rights thus conferred, the one half of which, in my opinion never has and probably never will be told, a great deal of which was done by disguised bands; and while, in my opinion, a comparatively few were actually engaged in these acts, such were the hostility and hatred of the great mass that they felt but little disposition to actively intervene to prevent similar outrages or to punish those who did commit . . . When the war was over, the southern people had no idea, while they expected slavery to be abolished, that their slaves were to be made their political equals; and when this was done, and a constitution, as they considered, forced upon them, that they considered they had defeated. My opinion [is] that the great mass felt, as I believe any other good, brave, and chivalrous people feeling and believing as they did would have felt; believing, as I do, that this bitterness and hostility was for political causes; that the great mass of the people are as good as any other people; I am of opinion that when once they

see that the people of the nation are determined to sustain the reconstruction policy of Congress and President Grant; that the present status is to be the fixed status of the government; when they abandon the idea, which, in my opinion, had its origin more in passion than reason, of overthrowing or disregarding as null and void the reconstruction 14th and 15th amendments, and the congressional legislation under them, they will accept the situation—reason assume its throne . . . This is founded in my fixed opinion that these outrages grow out of political causes, political passions, and hates, and that when these hates and passions subside, whatever is personal and done by bad men, all good men, uniting in good and serious earnestness, will soon be able to put it down. If I was of opinion, or could be made to believe, all the outrages that are known to have been committed was from mere personal hate, malice, and pure wickedness of heart, and that whole communities, standing by, either sympathizing or looking on indifferently, and in many instances inflaming the minds of the people against victims, instead of seeking to punish the perpetrators; in that view I should not and could not entertain the opinion or hope of good from such a people actuated by such passions. I would as soon expect the "leopard to change his spots, or the Ethiopian his skin" as to see such a community amend its ways. *Kuklux Report, Alabama Testimony, p. 567 [J. A. Minnis]*

*Extracts from the ritual of the Knights of the White
Camelia*

QUESTIONS ASKED IN WHITE CAMELIA INITIATION

- 1 Do you belong to the white race? *Ans.*—I do.
- 2 Did you ever marry any woman who did not, or does not, belong to the white race? *Ans.*—No.
- 3 Do you promise never to marry any woman but one who belongs to the white race? *Ans.*—I do.
- 4 Do you believe in the superiority of your race? *Ans.*—I do.
- 5 Will you promise never to vote for any one for any office of honor, profit or trust, who does not belong to your race? *Ans.*—I do.

6 Will you take a solemn oath never to abstain from casting your vote at any election in which a candidate of the negro race shall be opposed to a white man attached to your principles, unless prevented by severe illness or any other physical disability? *Ans.*—I will.

7 Are you opposed to allowing the control of the political affairs of this country to go in whole or in part, into the hands of the African race, and will you do everything in your power to prevent it? *Ans.*—Yes.

8 Will you devote your intelligence, energy and influence to the furtherance and propagation of the principles of our order? *Ans.*—I will.

9 Will you, under all circumstances, defend and protect persons of the white race in their lives, rights and property, against all encroachments or invasions from any inferior race, and especially the African? *Ans.*—Yes.

10 Are you willing to take an oath forever to cherish these grand principles, and to unite yourself with others who, like you, believing in their truth, have firmly bound themselves to stand by and defend them against all? *Ans.*—I am.

The C[ommander] shall then say: If you consent to join our association, raise your right hand and I will administer to you the oath which we have all taken:

OATH

I do solemnly swear, in the presence of these witnesses, never to reveal, without authority, the existence of this order, its objects, its acts, and signs of recognition; never to reveal or publish, in any manner whatsoever, what I shall see or hear in this council; never to divulge the names of the members of the order, or their acts done in connection therewith; I swear to maintain and defend the social and political superiority of the white race on this continent; always and in all places to observe a marked distinction between the white and African races; to vote for none but white men for any office of honor, profit or trust; to devote my intelligence, energy and influence to instil these principles in the minds and hearts of others; and to protect and defend persons of the white race, in their lives, rights and property, against the encroachments and aggressions of an inferior race.

I swear, moreover, to unite myself in heart, soul and body with those who compose this order; to aid, protect and defend them in all places; to obey the orders of those, who, by our statutes, will have the right of giving those orders; to respond at the peril of my life, to a call, sign or cry coming from a fellow-member whose rights are violated; and to do everything in my power to assist him through life. And to the faithful performance of this oath, I pledge my life and sacred honor.

The oath having been taken by the candidate, the C[ommander] shall now say:

Brother, by virtue of the authority to me delegated, I now pronounce you a Knight of the [White Camelia].

CHARGE TO NEW MEMBERS OF THE WHITE CAMELIA

Brothers: You have been initiated into one of the most important orders, which have ever been established on this continent; an order, which, if its principles are faithfully observed and its objects diligently carried out, is destined to regenerate our unfortunate country and to relieve the white race from the humiliating condition to which it has lately been reduced in this Republic. It is necessary, therefore, that before taking part in the labors of this association, you should understand fully its principles and objects and the duties which devolve upon you as one of its members.

As you may have already gathered from the questions which were propounded to you, and which you have answered so satisfactorily, and from the clauses of the oath which you have taken, our main and fundamental object is the *maintenance of the supremacy of the white race* in this Republic. History and physiology teach us that we belong to a race which nature has endowed with an evident superiority over all other races, and that the Maker, in thus elevating us above the common standard of human creation, has intended to give us over inferior races, a dominion from which no human laws can permanently derogate. The experience of ages demonstrates that, from the origin of the world, this dominion has always remained in the

hands of the Caucasian race; whilst all the other races have constantly occupied a subordinate and secondary position; a fact which triumphantly confirms this great law of nature. Powerful nations have succeeded each other on the face of the world, and have marked their passage by glorious and memorable deeds; and among those who have thus left on this globe indelible traces of their splendor and greatness, we find none but descended from the Caucasian stock. We see, on the contrary, that most of the countries inhabited by the other races have remained in a state of complete barbarity; whilst the small number of those who have advanced beyond this savage existence, have, for centuries, stagnated in a semibarbarous condition, of which there can be no progress or improvement. And it is a remarkable fact that as a race of men is more remote from the Caucasian and approaches nearer to the black African, the more fatally that stamp of inferiority is affixed to its sons, and irrevocably dooms them to eternal imperfectibility and degradation.

Convinced that we are of these elements of natural ethics, we know, besides, that the government of our republic was established by white men, for white men alone, and that it never was in the contemplation of its founders that it should fall into the hands of an inferior and degraded race. We hold, therefore, that any attempt to wrest from the white race the management of its affairs in order to transfer it to the control of the black population, is an invasion of the sacred prerogatives vouchsafed to us by the Constitution, and a violation of the laws established by God himself; that such encroachments are subversive of the established institutions of our Republic, and that no individual of the white race can submit to them without humiliation and shame.

It, then, becomes our solemn duty, as white men, to resist strenuously and persistently those attempts against our natural and constitutional rights, and to do everything in our power in order to maintain, in this Republic, the supremacy of the Caucasian race, and restrain the black or African race to that condition of social and political inferiority for which God has destined it. This is the object for which our order was

instituted; and, in carrying it out, we intend to infringe no laws, to violate no rights, and to resort to no forcible means, except for purposes of legitimate and necessary defense.

As an essential condition of success, this order proscribes absolutely all social equality between the races. If we were to admit persons of African race on the same level with ourselves, a state of personal relations would follow which would unavoidably lead to political equality; for it would be a virtual recognition of *status*, after which we could not consistently deny them an equal share in the administration of our public affairs. The man who is good enough to be our familiar companion, is good enough also to participate in our political government; and if we were to grant the one, there could be no good reason for us not to concede the other of these two privileges.

There is another reason, brothers, for which we condemn this social equality. Its toleration would soon be a fruitful source of intermarriages between individuals of the two races; and the result of this *miscegenation* would be gradual amalgamation and the production of a degenerate and bastard offspring, which would soon populate these states with a degraded and ignoble population, incapable of moral and intellectual development and unfitted to support a great and powerful country. We must maintain the purity of the white blood, if we would preserve for it that natural superiority with which God has ennobled it.

To avoid these evils, therefore, we take the obligation *to observe a marked distinction between the two races*, not only in the relations of public affairs, but also in the more intimate dealings and intercourse of private life which, by the frequency of their occurrence, are more apt to have an influence on the attainment of the purposes of the order.

Now that I have laid before you the objects of this association let me charge you specially in relation to one of your most important duties as one of its members. Our statutes make us bound to respect sedulously the rights of the colored inhabitants of this Republic, and in every instance, to give them whatever lawfully belongs to them. It is an act of simple justice not to deny

them any of the privileges to which they are legitimately entitled; and we can not better show the inherent superiority of our race than by dealing with them in that spirit of firmness, liberality and impartiality which characterizes all superior organizations. Besides, it would be ungenerous for us to undertake to restrict them to the narrowest limits as to the exercise of certain rights, without conceding to them, at the same time, the fullest measure of those which we recognize as theirs; and a fair construction of a white man's duty towards them would be, not only to respect and observe their acknowledged rights, but also to see that these are respected and observed by others.

From the brief explanation which I have just given you, you must have satisfied yourselves that our association is not a political party, and has no connection with any of the organized parties of the day. Nor will it lend itself to the personal advancement of individuals, or listen to the cravings of any partizan spirit. It was organized in order to carry out certain great principles from which it must never swerve by favoring private ambitions and political aspirations. These, as well as all sentiments of private enmity, animosity and other personal feelings, we must leave at the door before we enter this council. You may meet here, congregated together, men who belong to all the political organizations which now divide or may divide, this country, you see some whom embittered feuds and irreconcilable hatred have long and widely separated; they have all cast away these rankling feelings to unite cordially and zealously in the labors of our great undertaking. Let their example be to you a useful lesson of the disinterestedness and devotedness which should characterize our efforts for the success of our cause!

Brothers, I now consign you to the Lieutenant Commander of this council, who will instruct you as to the signs and other means of recognition of this association and other details of its organization and order.

The Lieut[enant] Commander will now instruct the new brothers as to the sign, grip, cry, dialogue, rap, password etc., taking care to charge them particularly as to the circumstances and occasion of their use. He will also inform them of the mode of initiation and other details

of order which they are required to know. *Fleming, Documents, no. 1*

Initiation oath of the White Brotherhood

You solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God that you will never reveal the name of the person who initiated you; and that you will never reveal what is now about to come to your knowledge; and that you are not now a member of the Red String Order, Union League, Heroes of America, Grand Army of the Republic, or any other organization whose aim and intention is to destroy the rights of the South, or of the states, or of the people, or to elevate the negro to a political equality with yourself; and that you are opposed to all such principles: So help you God.

You further swear before Almighty God that you will be true to the principles of this brotherhood, and the members thereof; and that you will never reveal any of the secrets, orders, acts, or edicts, and that you will never make known to any person, not a member of this brotherhood, that you are a member yourself, or who are members; that you will never assist in initiating, or allow to be initiated, if you can prevent it, any one belonging to the Red String Order, Union League, Heroes of America, Grand Army of the Republic, or any holding radical views or opinions; and should any members of this brotherhood, or their families be in danger, you will inform them of their danger, and, if necessary, you will go to their assistance; and that you will oppose all radicals and negroes in all of their political designs; and that should any radical or negro impose on, abuse, or injure any member of this brotherhood, you will assist in punishing him in any manner the camp may direct.

You further swear that you will obey all calls and summonses of the chief of your camp or brotherhood, should it be in your power so to do.

Given upon this your obligation, that you will never give the word of distress unless you are in great need of assistance; and should you hear it given by a brother, you will go to his or their assistance; and should any member reveal any of the secrets, acts, orders, or edicts of the brotherhood, you will assist in punishing him in

any way the camp may direct or approve of: So help you God. *Kuklux Report, South Carolina Testimony*, p. 653

OATH OF THE INVISIBLE EMPIRE

I, before the great immaculate God of heaven and earth, do take and subscribe to the following sacred binding oath and obligation: I promise and swear that I will uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States as it was handed down by our forefathers in its original purity. I promise and swear that I will reject and oppose the principles of the radical party in all its forms, and forever maintain and contend that intelligent white men shall govern this country. I promise and pledge myself to assist, according to my pecuniary circumstances, all brothers in distress. Females, widows, and their households, shall ever be specially in my care and protection. I promise and swear that I will obey all instructions given me by my chief, and should I ever divulge or cause to be divulged any secrets, signs or passwords of the Invisible Empire, I must meet with the fearful and just penalty of the traitor, which is death, death, death, at the hands of my brethren. *Kuklux Report, North Carolina Testimony: Court Proceedings*, p. 422

Extracts from the revised and amended Prescript of Kuklux Klan

APPELLATION

This organization shall be styled and denominated, the Order of the . . .

CREED

We, the Order of the . . . , reverentially acknowledge the majesty and supremacy of the Divine Being, and recognize the goodness and providence of the same. And we recognize our relation to the United States government, the supremacy of the Constitution, the constitutional laws thereof, and the union of states thereunder.

CHARACTER AND OBJECTS OF THE ORDER

This is an institution of chivalry, humanity, mercy, and patriotism; embodying in its genius and its principles all that is chivalric in conduct, noble in sentiment, generous in manhood, and patriotic in purpose; its peculiar objects being

First: To protect the weak, the innocent, and the defenceless, from the indignities, wrongs, and outrages of the lawless, the violent, and the brutal; to relieve the injured and oppressed; to succor the suffering and unfortunate, and especially the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers.

Second: To protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and all laws passed in conformity thereto, and to protect the states and the people thereof from all invasion from any source whatever.

Third: To aid and assist in the execution of all constitutional laws, and to protect the people from unlawful seizure, and from trial except by their peers in conformity to the laws of the land.

TITLES

§ 1 The officers of this order shall consist of a Grand Wizard of the Empire, and his ten Genii; a Grand Dragon of the Realm, and his eight Hydras; a Grand Titan of the Dominion, and his six Furies; a Grand Giant of the Province, and his four Goblins; a Grand Cyclops of the Den, and his two Night Hawks; a Grand Magi, a Grand Monk, a Grand Scribe, a Grand Exchequer, a Grand Turk, and a Grand Sentinel.

§ 2 The body politic of this order shall be known and designated as "Ghouls."

INTERROGATORIES TO BE ASKED

1 Have you ever been rejected, upon application for membership in the . . . , or have you ever been expelled from the same?

2 Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Radical Republican party, or either of the organizations known as the "Loyal League" and the "Grand Army of the Republic?"

3 Are you opposed to the principles and policy of the Radical party; and to the Loyal League, and the Grand Army of the Republic, so far as you are informed of the character and purposes of those organizations?

4 Did you belong to the Federal army during the late war, and fight against the South during the existence of the same?

5 Are you opposed to negro equality, both social and political?

6 Are you in favor of a white man's government in this country?

7 Are you in favor of constitutional liberty, and a government of equitable laws instead of a government of violence and oppression?

8 Are you in favor of maintaining the constitutional rights of the South?

9 Are you in favor of the reenfranchisement and emancipation of the white men of the South, and the restitution of the southern people to all their rights, alike proprietary, civil, and political?

10 Do you believe in the inalienable right of self-preservation of the people against the exercise of arbitrary and unlicensed power? *Fleming, Documents, no. 2*

A Kuklux order

[The Kuklux order here reproduced is typical. It was first posted on the streets of Tuscaloosa Ala., and later reprinted in the newspapers. It was at once an order and a notice to the members of the Klan, and a warning to offenders. Part of the order was in cipher, the rest was sheer nonsense, calculated to alarm the carpet bagger and cause him to leave the country. It was rarely necessary to send more than one order to an obnoxious person.]

KU KLUX

Hollow Hell. Devil's Den.
Horrible Shadows. Ghostly
Sepulcher. Head Quarters of
the Immortal Ate of the
K. K. K. Gloomy Month.
Bloody Moon. Black Night.
Last Hour.

General orders no. 3

Shrouded Brotherhood! Murdered heroes!

Fling the bloody dirt that covers you to the four winds! Erect thy Goddess on the banks of the Avernus. Mark well you foes! Strike with the redhot spear! Prepare Charon for his task!

Enemies reform! The skies shall be blackened! A single Star shall look down upon horrible deeds! The night owl shall hoot a requiem o'er Ghostly Corpses!

Beware! Beware! Beware!

The Great Cyclops is angry! Hobgoblins report! Shears and lash!

Tar and Feathers! Hell and Fury!

Revenge! Revenge! Revenge!

Bad men! white, black, yellow, repent!

The hour is at hand! Be ye ready! Life is short!

J. H. S. Y. W!!

Ghosts! Ghosts!! Ghosts!!!

Drink thy tea made of distilled hell, stirred with the lightning of heaven, and sweetened with the gall of thine enemies!

All will be well!!!

By order of the Great

BLUFUSTIN

G. S.

K. K. K.

A true copy

Peterloo

P. S.

K. K. K.

Fleming, Documents, no. 2

Principles of the '76 Association

To oppose by all peaceful and lawful means in our power, the usurpations of the Radical party.

To uphold the principles of the United States Constitution as established and interpreted by its framers.

To vindicate the history of the South from the malignant and systematic assaults and aspersions of the press, pulpits, and politicians of the Radical party.

To place before the world the true position of the South during the recent war, and her conditions at the present time.

To form a nucleus around which the true men of the South may rally in contending for these great ends.

To promote the material interests of the South.

And, further as an auxiliary to this association, to establish and maintain in the city of New Orleans, a newspaper which shall be devoted to the advancement, advocacy, and dissemination of the principles.

We, the undersigned do form ourselves into an association, and adopt the following [Constitution of the '76 Association, a simple society constitution]. *Fleming, Documents, nos. 4-5*

A case of Kukluxing

There came a parcel of gentlemen to my house one night—or men. They went up to the door and ran against it. My wife was sick. I was lying on a pallet with my feet to the door. They ran against it and hallooed to me, "Open the door quick, quick, quick." I threw the door open immediately—right wide open. Two little children were lying with me. I said, "Come in, gentlemen." One of them says, "Do we look like gentlemen?" I says, "You look like men of some description; walk in." One says, "Come out here; are you ready to die?" I told him I was not prepared to die. "Well," he said, "your time is short; commence praying." I told him I was not a praying man much, and hardly ever prayed; only a few times; never did pray much. He says, "You ought to pray; your time is short, and now commence to pray." I told him I was not a praying man. One of them held a pistol to my head and said, "Get down and pray." I was on the steps, with one foot on the ground. They led me off to a pinetree. There was three or four of them behind me, it appeared, and one on each side, and one in front. The gentleman who questioned me was the only man I could see. All the time I could not see the others. Every time I could get to look around they would touch me with a pistol on the other side. They would just touch me on the side of the head with a pistol, so I had to keep my head square in front. The next question was, "Who did you vote for?" I told them I voted for Mr Turner—Claudius Turner, a gentleman in the neighborhood. They said, "What did you vote for

him for?" I said, "I thought a good deal of him; he was a neighbor." I told them I disremembered who was on the ticket besides, but they had several, and I voted the ticket. "What did you do that for?" they said. Says I, "Because I thought it was right." They said, "You thought it was right? It was right wrong." I said, "I never do anything hardly if I think it is wrong; if it was wrong I did not know it. That was my opinion at the time, and I thought every man ought to vote according to his notion." He said, "If you had taken the advice of your friends you would have been better off." I told him I had. Says I, "You may be a friend to me, but I can't tell who you are." Says he, "Can't you recognize anybody here?" I told him I could not; "In the condition you are in now I can't tell who you are." One of them had a very large set of teeth; I suppose they were three quarters of an inch long; they came right straight down. He came up to me and sort of nodded. He had on speckled horns and calico stuff, and had a face on. He said, "Have you got a chisel here I could get?" I told him I hadn't, but I reckoned I could knock one out, and I sort of laughed. He said, "What in hell are you laughing at? It is no laughing time." I told him it sort of tickled me, and I thought I would laugh. I did not say anything then for a good while. "Old man," says one, "have you got a rope here, or plow line, or something of the sort?" I told him, "Yes; I had one hanging on the crib." He said, "Let us have it." One of them says, "String him up to this pinetree, and we will get all out of him. Get up, one of you, and let us pull him up, and he will tell the truth." I says, "I can't tell you anything more than I have told. There is nothing I can tell you but what I have told you that you asked me." One man questioned me all this time. One would come up and say, "Let's hang him awhile, and he will tell us the truth;" and another then came up and said, "Old man, we are just from hell; some of us have been dead ever since the Revolutionary war." Another one said, "We have heard your conversation for the last six months. I came up from under your kitchen floor just this night, and I have heard your conversation a good while." I was not scared, and said, "You have been through a right smart experience." "Yes," he said;

"we have been through considerable experience." One of them says, "We have just come from hell." I said, "If I had been there I would not want to go back." One says, "Have you heard a wild goose holler lately?" I said, "I heard one the other night." Said he, "That is one of us coming over and looking down to see what you have been doing this time." I said, "You must fly then." He says, "When we start we can go a long ways." And then said, "How far is it to Osheville?" I said, "About sixty miles." He said, "How far to Spartanburgh?" I says, "Ten miles." He says, "We have got to go to Spartanburg tonight, and from there to Asheville before daylight;" it was then about 2 o'clock. I says, "You have a long trip," and laughed. He says, "What in hell are you laughing at?" "Why," said I, "by your going such a trip." He says, "This is no laughing time." I says, "If anything tickles me I always laugh, no matter how it is." Then they made me get down on my knees and told me to pray. I told them I was not a praying man, and didn't feel like it, and could not pray. Another put a pistol to my head and says, "Get down." I got down on one knee. I said, "I can't pray." One of them said, "Let us shoot him." Some six or seven of them pointed pistols at me, and I thought they were going to shoot. They said, "Commence praying; your time is short." I said, "I can't pray." They let me stand on my knee some time; one said something to the rest, and they went off to the others; one spoke to the others in some kind of Dutch talk—I could not understand it—and they all consulted together, and came back to me and said, "Old man, which would you rather have; six hundred lashes over your shirt, or five hundred lashes without your shirt, or to be shot or hanged?" Says I, "Gentlemen, I have no choice; if you are going to do either one, either one will do me; do it now and make an end of me. But what have I done?" "You have done a d—d sight," one said. I said, "I don't know what it is. I do not trouble anybody. You can't bring anything against me by my neighbors. There is a heap of neighbors around me, and they all know me, and they can bring nothing against me. I was always said to be a good boy by Dr Vernon that raised me." He says, "Who says so but you?" I says, "Anybody will say so." One of them says, "He has got

a d—d good influence. Didn't you bribe anybody to go your way?" Says I, "No, sir." "How did you vote?" I told him I voted for Mr Turner. I did not say anybody else but Mr Turner all the time. He said several times, "Who else?" I never said anybody but Mr Turner. He says to me, "Have you given advice to anybody to vote your way?" I said, "No, sir; I will tell you what I have done. I was with the parties the same day of the election, and I asked the boys how they were going to vote, and I said to them, won't you vote for Mr Turner? and ain't you going to vote for Mr Turner? but I could not make them do it." He says, "You have had a good influence; we must correct you a little." I told him I did not think that was any harm at all. He says, "We consider that it is." I thought they were not going to trouble me all this time. I thought it did not look so. I still kept in good spirits and laughed occasionally. They all left me but two—one by my side and another in front. They all got together again and consulted, and one says, "Let's go." I was standing, and one says, "Come, old man, come with us." I did not know what they were going to do with me. They went on with me thirty or forty steps from the house where we were standing, close to the house. Right in the road one says, "Jerk me a limb off that tree." One ran and jerked a limb off—a pretty heavy one, with two prongs to it. He says, "Pull off your shirt." "What for?" says I. "Pull off your shirt," he said; "don't you ask me anything." I didn't pull it off. "If you don't pull it off," says he, "I will shoot you in a minute. I will shoot a hole through you big enough for a rat to go through." I just turned it over my head. I had on only my drawers and my shirt. Then they hit me thirteen of the hardest cuts I ever got. I never had such cuts. They hit me right around the waist and by my hip, and cut a piece out about as wide as my two fingers in one place. I did not say a word while they were whipping, only sort of grunted a little. As quick as they got through they said, "Go to your bed. We will have this country right before we get through; go to your bed," and they started away. One of them says, "Look here, what are you going to say when anybody asks you about this?" "What can I say, sir?" He says, "What are you going to say?" I says, "I will have

to say something." "Are you going to tell that we have been here?" I says, "What else can I say?" "Can't you tell a lie," says he, "and say nobody has been here?" Say I, "That would not be right." "Can't you do it?" I told him I could do it. He said, "Just let us hear of this thing, and when we come back we will not leave a piece of you." That was the end of it. They left then, and got on their horses and went away. *Kuklux Report, South Carolina Testimony, p. 411*

The churches during reconstruction

- 1 In Memphis Tennessee.
- 2 Southern baptist churches.
- 3 Prayer for the President in Mississippi.
- 4 The episcopal church in Alabama and Bishop Wilmer.
- 5 Negro religion in 1865.
- 6 A negro missionary mistreated.
- 7 A persecuted negro church.
- 8 Opinion of an episcopalian on religious conditions among the negroes.

Headquarters Department of Memphis

Dec. 23, 1863

REV. BISHOP AMES: In obedience to the orders of the Secretary of War, dated Washington, Nov. 30, 1863, a copy of which is here attached, I place at your disposal a "house of worship" known as "Wesley Chapel," in the city of Memphis, state of Tennessee, the said house being claimed as the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and there being no loyal minister, appointed by a loyal bishop, now officiating in said house of worship.

I am very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES C. VEATCH

Brigadier General

*War Department, Adjutant General's Office**Washington, Jan. 14, 1864*

To the generals commanding the military division of the Mississippi, and the departments of the Gulf, of the South, and of Virginia and North Carolina, and all generals and officers commanding armies, detachments, and posts, and all officers in the service of the United States in the above mentioned departments:

You are hereby directed to place at the disposal of the American Baptist Home Mission Society all houses of worship belonging to the Baptist Church South in which a loyal minister of said church does not now officiate. It is a matter of great importance to the government in its efforts to restore tranquillity to the community, and peace to the nation, that Christian ministers should by example and precept support and foster the loyal sentiment of the people. The American Baptist Home Mission Society enjoys the entire confidence of this department, and no doubt is entertained that all ministers who may be appointed by it will be entirely loyal. You are expected to give it all the aid, countenance, and support practicable in the execution of its important mission.

You are also authorized to furnish their executive officer or agent and his clerk with transportation and subsistence when it can be done without prejudice to the service, and will afford them courtesy and protection.

By order of the Secretary of War.

E. D. TOWNSEND

Assistant Adjutant General

Headquarters U. S. forces

Natchez Miss., June 18, 1864

Special order, no. 31:

(Extract)

II The colonel commanding this district having been officially notified that the pastors of many churches in this city neglect to make any public recognition of allegiance under which they live, and to which they are in-

debted for protection, and further, that the regular form of prayer for "the President of the United States, and all others in authority," prescribed by the ritual in some churches, and by established custom in others, has been omitted in the stated services of churches of all denominations, it is hereby

Ordered, That hereafter, the ministers of such churches as may have the prescribed form of prayer for the President of the United States, shall read [it] at each and every service in which it is required by the rubrics—and that those of other denominations, which have no such form—shall on like occasions pronounce a prayer appropriate to the time, and expressive of the proper spirit toward the chief magistrate of the United States. Any minister failing to comply with these orders, will be immediately prohibited from exercising the functions of his office in this city—and render himself liable to be sent beyond the lines of the United States forces—at the discretion of the colonel commanding.

The provost marshal is charged with the execution of this order.

By command of

B. G. FARRAR

Colonel commanding

JAMES E. MONTGOMERY

Capt. and Ass't Adj. Gen.

Headquarters Department of Alabama

Mobile Ala., Sep. 20, 1865

General order no. 38:

The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States has established a form of prayer to be used for "the President of the United States and all in civil authority." During the continuance of the late wicked and groundless rebellion the prayer was changed for one for the President of the Confederate states, and so altered, was used in the protestant churches of the diocese of Alabama.

Since the "lapse" of the Confederate government, and the restoration of the authority of the United States over the late rebellious states, the prayer for the President has been altogether omitted in the episcopal churches of Alabama.

This omission was recommended by the Rt Rev. Richard Wilmer, Bishop of Alabama, in a letter to the clergy and laity, dated June 20, 1865. The only reason given by Bishop Wilmer for the omission of a prayer, which, to use his own language, "was established by the highest ecclesiastical authorities, and has for many years constituted a part of the liturgy of the church," is stated by him in the following words:

"Now the church in this country has established a form of prayer for the President and all in civil authority. The language of the prayer was selected with careful reference to the subject of the prayer—all in civil authority—and she desires for that authority prosperity and long continuance. No one can reasonably be expected to desire a long continuance of military rule. Therefore, the prayer is altogether inappropriate and inapplicable to the present conditions of things, when no civil authority exists in the exercise of its functions. Hence, as I remarked in the circular, we may yield a true allegiance to, and sincerely pray for grace, wisdom and understanding in behalf of, a government founded on force, while at the same time we could not in good conscience ask for its continuance, prosperity etc."

It will be observed from this extract, first, that the bishop, because he can not pray for the continuance of "military rule," therefore declines to pray for those in authority; second, he declares the prayer inappropriate and inapplicable, because no civil authority exists in the exercise of its functions. On the 20th of June, the date of his letter, there was a President of the United States, a Cabinet, Judges of the Supreme Court, and thousand of other civil officers of the United States, all in the exercise of their functions. It was for them specially that this form of prayer was established, yet the bishop can not, among all these, find any subject worthy of his prayers.

Since the publication of this letter a civil governor has been appointed for the state of Alabama, and in every county judges and sheriffs have been appointed, and all these are, and for weeks have been, in the exercise of their functions; yet the prayer has not been restored.

The prayer which the bishop advised to be omitted is not a prayer for the continuance of any particular form of government or any particular person in power. It is

simply a prayer for the temporal and spiritual weal of the persons in whose behalf it is ordered—it is a prayer to the High and Mighty Ruler of the Universe that He would with His power behold and bless His servant—the President of the United States—and all others in authority; that He would replenish them with grace of His holy spirit that they might always incline to His will and walk in His ways; that He would endow them plenteously with heavenly gifts, grant them in health and prosperity long to live, and finally after this life, to attain everlasting joy and felicity. It is a prayer at once applicable and appropriate, and which any heart not filled with hatred, malice and all uncharitableness, could conscientiously offer.

The advice of the bishop to omit this prayer, and its omission by the clergy, is not only a violation of the canons of the church, but shows a factious and disloyal spirit, and is a marked insult to every loyal citizen within the department. Such men are unsafe public teachers, and not to be trusted in places of power and influence over public opinion.

It is, therefore, ordered, pursuant to the directions of Major General Thomas, commanding the military division of Tennessee, that said Richard Wilmer, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the diocese of Alabama, and the protestant episcopal clergy of said diocese be, and they are hereby suspended from their functions, and forbidden to preach, or perform divine service; and that their places of worship be closed until such time as said bishop and clergy show a sincere return to their allegiance to the government of the United States, and give evidence of a loyal and patriotic spirit by offering to resume the use of the prayer for the President of the United States and all in civil authority, and by taking the amnesty oath prescribed by the President.

This prohibition shall continue in each individual case until special application is made through the military channels to these headquarters for permission to preach and perform divine service, and until such application is approved at these or superior headquarters.

District commanders are required to see that this order is carried into effect.

By order of Major General Charles R. Woods,

FRED H. WILSON

Assistant Adjutant General

*Headquarters Military Division of the Tennessee**Nashville Tenn., Dec. 22, 1865*

General order no. 40:

Armed resistance to the authority of the United States having been put down, the President, on the 29th of May last, issued his Proclamation of Amnesty, declaring that armed resistance having ceased in all quarters, he invited those lately in rebellion to reconstruct and restore civil authority, thus proclaiming the magnanimity of our government towards all, no matter how criminal or how deserving of punishment.

Alarmed at this imminent and impending peril to the cause in which he had embarked with all his heart and mind, and desiring to check, if possible, the spread of popular approbation and grateful appreciation of the magnanimous policy of the President in his efforts to bring the people of the United States back to their former friendly and national relations one with another, an individual, styling himself Bishop of Alabama, forgetting his mission to preach peace on earth and good will towards man, and being animated with the same spirit which through temptation beguiled the mother of men to the commission of the first sin—thereby entailing eternal toil and trouble on earth—issued, from the shield of his office, his manifesto of the 20th of June last to the clergy of the episcopal church of Alabama, directing them to omit the usual and customary prayer for the President of the United States and all others in authority, until the troops of the United States had been removed from the limits of Alabama; cunningly justifying this treasonable course, by plausibly presenting to the minds of the people that, civil authority not yet having been restored in Alabama, there was no occasion for the use of said prayer, as such prayer was intended for the civil authority alone, and as the military was the only authority in Alabama it was manifestly improper to pray for the continuance of military rule.

This man in his position as a teacher of religion, charity, and good fellowship with his brothers, whose paramount duty as such should have been characterized by frankness and freedom from all cunning, thus took advantage of

the sanctity of his position to mislead the minds of those who naturally regarded him as a teacher in whom they could trust, and attempted to lead them back into the labyrinths of treason.

For this covert and cunning act he was deprived of the privileges of citizenship, in so far as the right to officiate as a minister of the Gospel, because it was evident that he could not be trusted to officiate and confine his teachings to matters of religion alone—in fact that religious matters were but a secondary consideration in his mind, he having taken an early opportunity to subvert the church to the justification and dissemination of his treasonable sentiments.

As it is, however, manifest that so far from entertaining the same political views as Bishop Wilmer, the people of Alabama are honestly endeavoring to restore the civil authority in that state, in conformity with the requirements of the Constitution of the United States, and to repudiate their acts of hostility during the past four years, and have accepted with a loyal and becoming spirit the magnanimous terms offered them by the President; therefore, the restrictions heretofore imposed upon the Episcopal clergy of Alabama are removed, and Bishop Wilmer is left to that remorse of conscience consequent to the exposure and failure of the diabolical schemes of designing and corrupt minds.

By command of Major General Thomas.

WILLIAM D. WHIPPLE

Assistant Adjutant General

Negro religion

Here, in a mile of me, is a negro woman dying, who says an old African hag put a snake in her four years ago, and the Obi doctor has gone to deliver her. "Civilization" is "marching two steps backwards" like the truant boy went to school, "to one forward" in our "Africa" down here. The negroes here spend their time going to "funerals," religious howlings, promiscuous sexual intercourse, thieving and "conjuring." At their "funerals" they bellow like cattle when one of their number is slaughtered. *Letter of William F. Samford quoted by George Petrie in Transactions of Ala. Hist. Soc. v. 4*

A missionary to the negroes

You will hear of "Alexander's case." I do not know its merits. It is the case of a negro preacher who went to Auburn from North Carolina—went in the interests of a North African Methodist Church organization. He remained, preaching at his boarding house on Sundays and week nights, for some months, and teaching during the week. Four or five men in disguise went to his room one night last week, took him out to the woods, and gave him a severe whipping. The community was shocked to see him next morning in his bloody clothes, at the railroad depot, en route to Washington city. The town council held a meeting to investigate the "outrage" with only this result: No trace could be found of the perpetrators of the deed. Suspicion points to certain persons. They each protest innocence. It is certain that the resident colored preachers of the Methodist Church South were greatly disgruntled by the appearance of Brother Alexander in the midst of their unsuspecting flock, pouncing like a hawk upon their chickens (to change the figure) and taking off particularly the young pullets, or (to return to the first and more appropriate figure) appropriating the young ewe lambs. They denounced him in public and private, and seemed determined to "hamsnoggle" him. It was a complaint that he held meetings late o' nights, invited the rural laborers and created an excitement, which took them away from their duties, interfering with the prosperity of the neighboring crops, already bad enough When he left here a delegation of his gentle disciples escorted the martyr to the railroad—not a man among them. It was brought to light that a countryman who lived some miles out of town, had threatened to cane the evangelist for not giving his daughter the sidewalk, and here the evidence closed, leaving it in doubt whether his assailants were negroes or white men, for what offense, if any, he was subjected to this violent wrong, whether he is a simple zealot, a good devoted Christian, or an imposter. The colored people do not espouse his cause. All men of all colors deplore the occurrence, and denounce the violence by which he was wronged, by whomsoever perpetrated. One of the first citizens of the town council informed me that the investigation left the impression on

his mind that the whipping of the Rev Mr. Alexander was done by negroes. I doubt it, but can find no evidence to settle the question. *Letter of William F. Samford, quoted by George Petrie in Transactions of Ala. Hist. Soc. v. 4*

A persecuted negro church

No easy field lay before these consecrated men. The church was in its infancy; it was maliciously misrepresented, wantonly maligned, and frequently calumniated by stronger religious denominations. The relation of our church to the Methodist Episcopal Church South, was the prolific cause of most of the misrepresentations that were heaped upon us. The church was called a "Rebel Church," "Democratic Church," and "the Old Slavery Church." These were powerful weapons used against us, for the reason that our people were naturally credulous, especially concerning anything that might be said about those who had kept their forefathers in slavery for more than two centuries. Some were odiously inclined to the church, South; others refused social relations with those who in any way affiliated with that church. Thus the credulity of the ignorant was played upon with ease, and they joined in the rabble cry: "Demolish the new church!—the Democratic Church." *C. H. Phillips, History of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, p. 71*

Opinion of an Episcopalian

. . . The result of the religious isolation of the negro after the Civil War was most unfortunate; for, nowhere has he shown such a disposition to revert to the original savage as in his religion. Who does not know something of religious revivals among the negroes, their extravagant emotionalism, the ease with which their religious teachers and leaders work upon their credulity and upon their fears, their strange and perverted notions of conversion—that curious mental and physical condition which so closely resembles the hypnotic trance? their implicit faith in certain occult practices, known as "hoodooism," and finally, their total misconception of the plainest scriptural teachings concerning the incarnation and the work of the Holy Spirit? If ever a people needed the firm and intelligent support and guidance of those who are able to teach them, the negro is that race. And yet, what have we done? We

have left him largely a prey to his own ignorance and superstition, and to the guidance of a native clergy—many of them ignorant and morally unfit for the task before them. Many of these colored preachers are godly men and are able leaders of their race, as we can all testify. The African Methodist Episcopal Body and the African Baptist Church, with their immense membership, their admirable system of church discipline, and their excellent organization, show what the negro has been able to accomplish in a religious way, with but little aid from the white man. But, while this is true—and the race needs to be congratulated upon what it has accomplished—it is also true that in many instances the negro preachers have proven themselves unsafe and dangerous guides, and have fanned the fires of race prejudice, and influenced the negro to become the political enemy of the white man.

I believe that there would be a better understanding between the races, less antagonism, and more of the spirit of cooperation, if the negro, in his religion, had remained under white tutelage. He might in that case have listened to his white bishop, and have looked to his white rector to guide him when he would have turned a deaf ear to appeals which came only from those whom he saw separated from him socially, politically and religiously. The episcopal church has, from the beginning, recognized that the negro more than any other race, by temperament and inheritance, stands in need of the restraint and the chastened discipline which comes from a reverent ritual, a liturgical service, and systematic instruction, not only in doctrines but in morals. *Rev. W. A. Guerry, in Montgomery Conference Proceedings, p. 131*

Education during reconstruction

- 1 A northern teacher's view.
- 2 Freedmen's Bureau accounts.
- 3 General Pope's opinion of negro education.
- 4 A foreigner's account.
- 5 The Hampton view.
- 6 A southerner's estimate.

A northern teacher's view

We have four millions of liberated slaves who should be educated. They ask it at our hands, and the world expects us to do it: because in the very act of emancipation there is the sacred promise *to educate*. Slavery has kept the word *education* out of our national Constitution. Now four millions of starved minds implore its introduction. These colored people are children in knowledge, and we must begin with A, B, C. They must be educated at the South, where they prefer to live in warm climates. Their former owners will not take the trouble to educate them, and would generally refuse to pay a local tax for that purpose. "Since the Christian era," he says, "there has not been such an opportunity, for such a country, to do such a work; the noblest work man can do. Slavery is dead, and we can now introduce into our Constitution the angelic agency of education. We can now, for the first time, meet the demands of humanity, civilization, and freedom. We can not only teach the negroes, but we can emancipate the "poor whites" whom ignorance has kept so long in bondage. The old slave states are to be new missionary ground for the national schoolmaster, where, without regard to rank, age or color, he will teach all his pupils that learning and development are the first natural rights of man. *Address of S. S. Greene, Pres. N. T. A. August 1865, quoting the words of Rev. Charles Brooks of Mass.—Proc. & Lectures, p. 242.*

Freedmen's Bureau accounts

The desire of the freedmen for knowledge has not been overstated. This comes from several causes:

- 1 The natural thirst for knowledge common to all men.
- 2 They have seen power and influence among white people always coupled with *learning*—it is the sign of that elevation to which they now aspire.
- 3 Its mysteries, hitherto hidden from them in written literature, excites to the special study of *books*.
- 4 Their freedom has given wonderful stimulus to *all effort*, indicating a vitality which augurs well for their whole future condition and character.
- 5 But especially the practical business of life, now upon their hands, shows at once their need of education. This they all feel and acknowledge; hence, their unusual wel-

come and attendance upon schools is confined to no one class or age. Those advanced in life throw up their hands at first in despair, but a little encouragement places *even these* as pupils at the alphabet.

Such as are in middle life—the laboring classes—gladly avail themselves of the evening and Sabbath schools. They may be often seen during the intervals of toil, when off duty as servants, on steamboats, along railroads, and when unemployed in the streets of the city or on plantations, with some fragment of a spelling book in their hands, earnestly at study. Regiments of colored soldiers have nearly all made improvement in learning. In some of them, where but few knew their letters at first, nearly every man can now read, and many of them write. In other regiments one half or two thirds can do this. The officers of such regiments deserve great credit for their efforts in this respect. The 128th United States colored troops, at Beaufort, I found with regularly detailed teachers from the line officers—a neat camp schoolhouse, erected by the regiment, and the colonel superintending the whole arrangement. Chaplains have also been the schoolmasters of their respective regiments with much success, and greatly increasing their usefulness.

Even in the hospitals I discovered very commendable efforts at such elementary instruction. In the above camp and hospital work the teachers of the northern associations were found helping. But the great movement is among *children of usual school age*, and who are now otherwise unemployed. Their parents, if at all intelligent, everywhere encourage them to study. Your officers in all ways add their influence, and it is a fact, not always true of children, that among those recently from bondage, the schoolhouse, however rough and uncomfortable, is of all other places the most attractive; the average attendance being nearly equal to that usually found at the North. For instance, in the District of Columbia, the daily attendance at the white schools is but forty-one (41) %, while at the colored schools of the District it is seventy-five (75) %. In the State of New York, the daily attendance at the public schools averages forty-three (43) %. At the colored schools in the city of Memphis it is seventy-two (72) %. In the whole State of Alabama it is seventy-nine (79) %; and in Virginia it is eighty-two (82) %. The most

thorough attendance at public schools at the North is probably in the city of Boston, which is ninety-three (93) %. In the *comparison*, therefore, schools of colored children do not suffer (especially when we consider lax government at home, and opportunity for truancy) with the most vigorous system found among our own children. Love of their books is universally apparent. Dull and stupid ones there are, but a very common punishment for misdemeanor is the threat of being *kept at home for a day*. The threat, in most cases, is sufficient.

. . . Not only are individuals seen at study, and under the most untoward circumstances, but in very many places I have found what I will call "native schools," often rude and very imperfect, but there they are, a group, perhaps, of all ages, trying to learn. Some young man, some woman, or old preacher, in cellar, or shed, or corner of a negro meetinghouse, with the alphabet in hand, or a torn spelling book, is their teacher. All are full of enthusiasm with the new knowledge the book is imparting to them.

. . . A member of the Legislature, in session while I was at New Orleans, was passing one of the schools with me, having, at the time, its recess, the grounds about the building being filled with children. He stopped and looked intently, then earnestly inquired "Is this a school?" "Yes," I replied. "What! of niggers?" "These are colored children, evidently," I answered. "Well! well!" said he, and raising his hands, "I have seen many an absurdity in my lifetime, but this is the climax of absurdities!" I was sure he did not speak for effect, but as he felt. He darted from me like an arrow, and turned the next corner to take his seat with legislators similarly prejudiced. . . *Report of J. W. Alvord, inspector of bureau schools, Jan. 1, 1866, in Sen. Ex. Doc. no. 27, 39th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 107, 112, 115.*

General Pope's opinion

It may be safely said that the marvellous progress made in the education of these people, aided by the noble charitable contributions of the northern societies and individuals, *finds no parallel in the history of mankind*. If continued, it must be by the same means, and if the masses of white people exhibit the same indisposition to be educated that

just

they do now, five years will have transferred intelligence and education, so far as the masses are concerned, to the colored people of this district. *General John Pope to General Grant, 1867, Herbert, Solid South, p. 43.*

A foreigner's account

. . . I was fortunate enough to be able to collect evidence which corroborated the statements just made, and on arriving in Washington, after a visit to Mr Henry Barnard, the Commissioner of Education, and his zealous secretary, Mr Angerer, I hastened to pay a visit to the illustrious organizer of the Freedmen's Bureau, General Howard and his worthy colaborer, Mr Eliot. It was in Washington that the first schools for the children of freedmen were established. The schools are of all grades, and the general is even constructing large, beautiful edifices for a college and a university. I was full of the memories of the most flourishing schools in the East, and I was well qualified to judge for myself of the differences in intellectual aptitudes of the two races. I must say that I have been unable to discover any. All the teachers, both male and female, that I have consulted on that point are of the same opinion.

My opinion of the intellectual aptitudes of colored children is shared by men of good faith who have, like me, visited the schools of the South. An English traveler, Dr Zincke, in an account of his travels in America, says: "I must confess my astonishment at the intellectual acuteness displayed by a class of colored pupils. They had acquired, in a short space of time, an amount of knowledge truly remarkable; never in any school in England, and I have visited many, have I found the pupils able to comprehend so readily the sense of their lessons; never have I heard pupils ask questions which showed a clearer comprehension of the subjects they were studying."

What I saw at Oberlin confirmed entirely the opinion I had formed by my visits to the schools of the South. This remarkable institution is educating a large number of colored students. I found 14 young colored girls in the most advanced class, and they appeared in no way inferior to their white companions. In 1868 the degree of B. A. was conferred upon 15 young men and 10 young women. The principal of the institution, in an address to

the students, stated that in literary taste and philological ability these colored pupils were unexcelled by any of their white fellow-graduates. The opinion of the professors at Oberlin is that there is no difference in intelligence manifested by the two races. In a Greek class of 27 pupils of both races, instructed by a young lady of 25 years, daughter of one of the professors of the college, a young colored girl translated with exactitude, a chapter of the first book of Thucydides. The negro race constitutes nearly a fifth part of the population of Oberlin, and one of the professors assured me that the most peaceable, well behaved, and studious citizens of that place belonged to the colored race. They are associated with the whites in all business and social relations, and no animosity is exhibited by either. The white man there is no more disturbed at sitting beside a colored man in the municipal council or on the committee of education than in an omnibus or at a restaurant table. This fair treatment of the blacks, however, is by no means universal; but every day weakens the repugnance which has hitherto constituted an insuperable barrier between the two races

. . . *Report made to the French Minister of Public Instruction by M. Hippeau on "Ecoles pour les Enfants de Couleur" in the United States—House Rep't, no. 121, 41st Cong. 2d Sess. p. 22*

A Hampton view

When the combat was over and the "Yankee school-ma'ams" followed in the train of the Northern armies, the business of educating the negroes was a continuation of hostilities against the vanquished South, and was so regarded, to a considerable extent, on both sides. *Alice M. Bacon, of Hampton Institute, in Slater Fund Occasional Papers, no. 7.*

A southerner's estimate

. . . I have very little respect for the intelligence or the patriotism of the man who doubts the capacity of the negro for improvement or usefulness. The progress made by the negroes in education, considering their environments, their heredity, the abominable scoundrels who have come here from other quarters to seduce and lead them astray, is marvelous. . . It is not just to condemn

the negro for the education which he received in the early years after the war. That was the period of reconstruction, the saturnalia of misgovernment, the greatest possible hindrance to the progress of the freedmen, an immitigable curse, the malignant attempt to use the negro voter as a pawn in the corrupt game of manufacturing members of Congress. The education was unsettling, demoralizing, pandered to a wild frenzy for schooling as a quick method of reversing social and political conditions. Nothing could have been better devised for deluding the poor negro, and making him the tool, the slave of corrupt taskmasters. Education is a natural consequence of citizenship and enfranchisement, I should say of freedom and humanity. But with deliberate purpose to subject the Southern States to negro domination, and secure the states permanently for partizan ends, the education adopted was contrary to common sense, to human experience, to all noble purposes. The curriculum was for a people in highest degree of civilization; the aptitude and capabilities and needs of the negro were wholly disregarded. Especial stress was laid on classics and liberal culture to bring the race *per saltum* to the same plane with their former masters, and realize the theory of social and political equality. A race more highly civilized, with best heredities and environments, could not have been coddled with more disregard of all the teachings of human history and the necessities of the race. Colleges and universities, established and conducted by the Freedmen's Bureau and northern churches and societies, sprang up like mushrooms, and the teachers, ignorant, fanatical, without self-poise, proceeded to make all possible mischief. It is irrational, cruel to hold the negro, under such strange conditions, responsible for all the ill consequences of bad education, unwise teachers, reconstruction villanies and partizan schemes. To educate at all, slowly, was a gigantic task. J. L. M. Curry, in *Montgomery Conference Proceedings*, p. 108-9

Industrial reconstruction

- 1 Tendencies in 1865. Condition of the negro.
- 2 Conditions in 1870. Letter of Samford.
- 3 Opposition to immigration in South Carolina 1873.
- 4 Relation of race to cotton production.
- 5 Opinion of W. F. Willcox.

Condition of the negro in 1865

. . . Poor and dependent as most of the freedmen are, I found that a considerable number had money. Among the former free people many had reached a condition above want, and in the large towns and cities there are individuals who might be called rich. These men, in some cases, purchased themselves from slavery, and are mechanics, keepers of groceries and wood yards, butchers, market men and women, owning their own dwellings in the town or its suburbs, and some with small plantations. In Louisiana there are colored creoles who are merchants, bankers, and large planters, each handling hundreds of thousands of dollars. On the bayous back of Baton Rouge there are a number of these colored planters, each said to be worth near half a million. These men are enterprising, are destined to increase in numbers and in wealth, and they seem to act unitedly and strongly for the education and advancement of the whole colored race.

Even the low class of free blacks and the slaves had laid aside small sums of money, usually in coin, and this is now found in some secret box or old stocking, blackened with rust, no longer kept hid from fear, but cheerfully used for what they need in freedom. A considerable number had been persuaded to place these funds in the former savings bank of the south. Many thousands of dollars of such money went to Richmond to sustain the Confederacy, and to be lost forever to these people. One colored church in Savannah had \$2000 thus deposited. But there are multitudes who as yet know nothing of thrift. Slavery prevented all forecasting of thought, and, in general, every possibility of improvement. Now, however, a change has come. There are, indeed, those who are too degraded perhaps ever to be recovered. Their minds are childish and dark. But pay for labor puts even these to thinking of the value of things. The wants and opportunities of freedom show the worth of money, and what can be done with it. Time, however, will be needed for the whole effect. Much patient instruction is called for. But in every direction industry is seen to start under the impulse of prompt reward, and if kind treatment accompanies it, there will soon be on this whole subject little to complain of.

Already homesteads are being purchased, and many more would be if there was opportunity. The freedmen have a passion for land. Where little can be obtained, they are always purchasers. The tax commissioners of South Carolina told me they had given over 600 "certificates of title" to real estate to colored men. I know one man on St Helena island—a slave formerly on an adjoining plantation—who now owns a farm of 315 acres, works 20 laborers, has 12 cows, a yoke of oxen, four horses, 20 swine; and he showed me, with very pardonable pride, his 58 acres of the best sea island cotton I saw anywhere, 52 acres of corn, besides a number of acres of provision crops. He had been helped some by the Union officer to whom he had, for a year or more in the war, been a servant; but he expected soon to be wholly out of debt. This man could neither read nor write, and his children aided him in his accounts. There are a number of men on Edisto and the other sea islands who are only waiting the action of government in permitting them to have lands to engage in similar operations. . . . *Report of J. W. Alvord, inspector of bureau schools, Jan. 1, 1866, in Sen. Ex. Doc. no. 27, 39th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 120*

Conditions in 1870

We are today [1870] poorer than we were on the day of the surrender of the Southern armies. Our carpet-baggers and nigger scalawags have imposed intolerable taxation upon a people already crushed to the earth. A deep and sullen gloom is settling upon the Southern heart. Twelve cents for cotton and 25 cents for bacon and 150 dollars and rations for a negro idler . . . for laborer he will not be—winds up the plantation business. Why don't we raise hogs and make our own bacon? Why a hog has no more chance to live among these thieving negro farmers than a june bug in a gang of puddle ducks. . . . All this great staple-producing region is essentially upon the sheriff's block. *Transactions of Ala. Hist. Soc. v. 4, letter from William F. Samford, quoted in article by George Petrie*

Opposition to immigration

And so in the matter of immigration. The material interests of the state [South Carolina] clearly demand it.

But the blacks are against it, as they fear its political consequences. A late debate in the Senate [1873] illustrated this. A bill was up to exempt new railroad enterprises and various enumerated kinds of manufactures from taxation. A black leader debated it, and in the course of his remarks took occasion to say he had heard, or overheard, a good deal from the class of people whom this legislation was designed to benefit; that it was intended to overslaugh and crowd out the blacks by foreign immigrants, to be introduced into the state by wholesales. Now, he wanted everybody to understand that the blacks did not intend to be crowded out, but that they proposed to stand their ground and, "fight this thing out to the bitter end." He said they might bring on their immigrants, and they would find the blacks ready for them. *Pike, The Prostrate State, p. 55*

Relation of race to cotton production

1 Where the blacks are in excess of the whites there are the originally most fertile lands of the state. The natural advantages of the soils are, however, more than counterbalanced by the bad system prevailing in such sections, viz, large farms rented out in patches to laborers who are too poor and too much in debt to merchants to have any interest in keeping up the fertility of the soil, or rather the ability to keep it up, with the natural consequences of its rapid exhaustion and a product per acre on these, the best lands of the state, lower than that which is realized from the very poorest.

2 Where the two races are in nearly equal proportions, or where the whites are in only slight excess over the blacks, as in the case in all the sections where the soils are of average fertility, there is found the system of small farms worked generally by the owners, a consequently better cultivation, a more general use of commercial fertilizers, a correspondingly high product per acre, and a partial maintenance of the fertility of the soils.

3 Where the white are greatly in excess of the blacks (three to one and above), the soils are almost certain to be below the average in fertility, and the product per acre is low from this cause, notwithstanding the redeeming influences of a comparatively rational system of cultivation.

4 The exceptions to these general rules are nearly always due to local causes, which are not far to seek, and which afford generally a satisfactory explanation of the discrepancies. *E. A. Smith, Cotton Production of the State of Alabama* [1884], p. 62-64

. . . With the coming in of such citizens as this section is now receiving and with the going out of many of our most trifling negroes, the productive power of our people will be greatly increased. One of the greatest losses the South has is the low productive capacity of her colored population. By improving the intelligence, industry and skill of her farm laborers the South can double her cotton production with every other condition remaining the same. To become convinced of this one has only to examine the statistics of the last census [1900], which shows the following facts:

Lowndes county, with three negroes to one white man, having 21,972 black and 7,121 whites, requires 3.15 acres to make a bale of cotton, while Jones county, with three whites to one negro, having 13,156 whites and 4,670 blacks, requires 1.98 acres to make a bale. The farm lands of Jones county are valued, as found in the census report, at \$2.85 an acre, and the farm lands of Lowndes county are valued at \$9.83 an acre. Yet the poor lands of Jones county, under intelligent cultivation, produced nearly twice as much per acre as the rich lands of Lowndes county when cultivated mostly by negroes. Noxubee county, with more than five blacks to one white, having 26,146 blacks and 4,699 whites, requires 3.5 acres to make a bale of cotton, while Union county, with three whites to one black, having 12,380 whites and 4,142 blacks, requires only 2.56 acres to make a bale. The farm lands of Noxubee county are valued at \$7.12 and the lands of Union are valued at \$4.81. Hinds county, with three negroes to one white man, having 39,521 blacks and 13,037 whites, requires 2.5 acres to make a bale, while Perry county, with more than two whites to one negro, requires only 1.96 acres to make a bale. The farm lands of Hinds are valued at three times as much as are those of Perry. In the counties of Leflore, Boliver and Washington, where they have about eight negroes to one white man, but almost without exception the negroes are under white

managers, they make one bale to every acre and a half, while in Lowndes, Noxubee and Monroe, where not many white managers are employed, they make on an average about one bale to three acres. While this difference is partly caused by a difference in the fertility of the two groups of three counties, yet the principal reason is due to the superior intelligence used in the management of the first group. This is proved by the fact that in every comparison made between a white county and a black one the black was the most fertile, yet the white was nearly twice as productive. "*Southern Whites in Cotton Production*," by Pres. J. C. Hardy of the Miss. A. & M. College in "*South's Supremacy in Cotton Growing*," p. 9. Pub. in 1904 by *Manufacturers Record*

Opinion of a statistician

. . . I have no time to go into complex statistical evidence bearing upon the vitality of the negro race, and its power to meet successfully the increasing industrial competition, to which it must be exposed, as these states fill with people, as cities spring up and prosper, and as industry, trade and agriculture become diversified and more complex. The balance of the evidence, however, seems to me to indicate for the future a continuance of changes already begun, viz, a decrease in the negro birth rate decidedly more rapid than the actual present or probable future decrease in the death rate. This would result obviously in a slackening rate of increase, and then in a stationary condition, followed by slow numerical retrogression. If this anticipation should be realized the negroes will continue to become, as they are now becoming, a steadily smaller proportion of the population.

The final outcome, though its realization may be postponed for centuries, will be I believe, that the race will follow the fate of the Indians, that the great majority will disappear before the whites, and that the remnant found capable of elevation to the level of the white man's civilization will ultimately be merged and lost in the lower classes of the whites, leaving almost no trace to mark their former existence.

Where such a lower people has disappeared, the causes of their death have been disease, vice and profound dis-

couragement. It seems to me clear that each one of these causes is affecting the negro race far more deeply and unfavorably at the present time than it was at the date of their emancipation. The medical evidence available points to the conclusion that they are more than ever afflicted with the scourges of disease, such as typhoid fever and consumption, and with the physical ills entailed by sexual vice. I have argued elsewhere to show that both in the North and in the South crime among the negroes is rapidly increasing. Whether the race as a whole is happy, as joyous, as confident of the future, or thoughtless of it, as it was before the war, you, my hearers, know far better than I. I can only say that in my studies I have found not one expression of dissent from the opinion that the joyous buoyancy of the race is passing away; that they feel upon them a burden of responsibility to which they are unequal; that the lower classes of negroes are resentful, and that the better classes not certain or sanguine of the outcome. If this judgment be true, I can only say that it is perhaps the most fatal source of race as of national decay and death. *W. F. Willcox, in Montgomery Conference Proceedings, p. 155-56*

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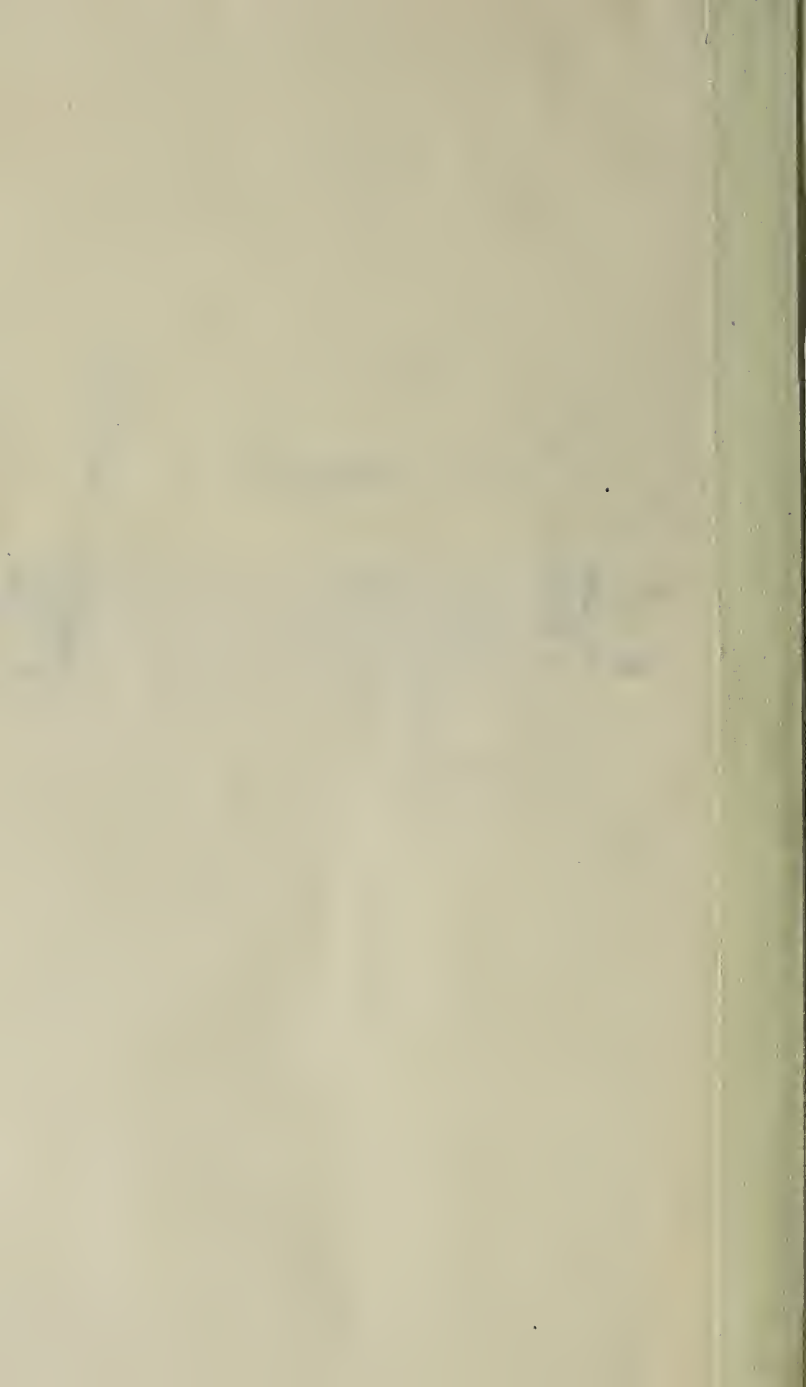
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